



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

NORTH CAROLINA

PART 12 OF 15

BUFILE NUMBER: 105-165706

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY -
NORTH CAROLINA**

FBIHQ FILE 105-165706-8

Section 11

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE CHARLOTTE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO	DATE 4/22/71	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 11/12/70 - 4/14/71
TITLE OF CASE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY GS
		CHARACTER OF CASE RACIAL MATTERS; SMITH ACT OF 1940; SEDITION CONSPIRACY; REBELLION AND INSURRECTION	

REFERENCE:

Charlotte reports of SA [REDACTED] dated 11/25/70 and 1/22/71.

Director letter to Charlotte, 2/2/71.

Classified by

Exempt from G.S. Category

Date of Declassification Indefinite

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is classified confidential to protect sources whose identities or compromise could adversely affect the National Defense interest of the United States.

It is noted referenced letter instructed that a revised report be submitted. An effort was made to obtain

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN: PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			

APPROVED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW
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Dissemination Record of Attached ReportNotations

Agency	ACSI, ATT, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
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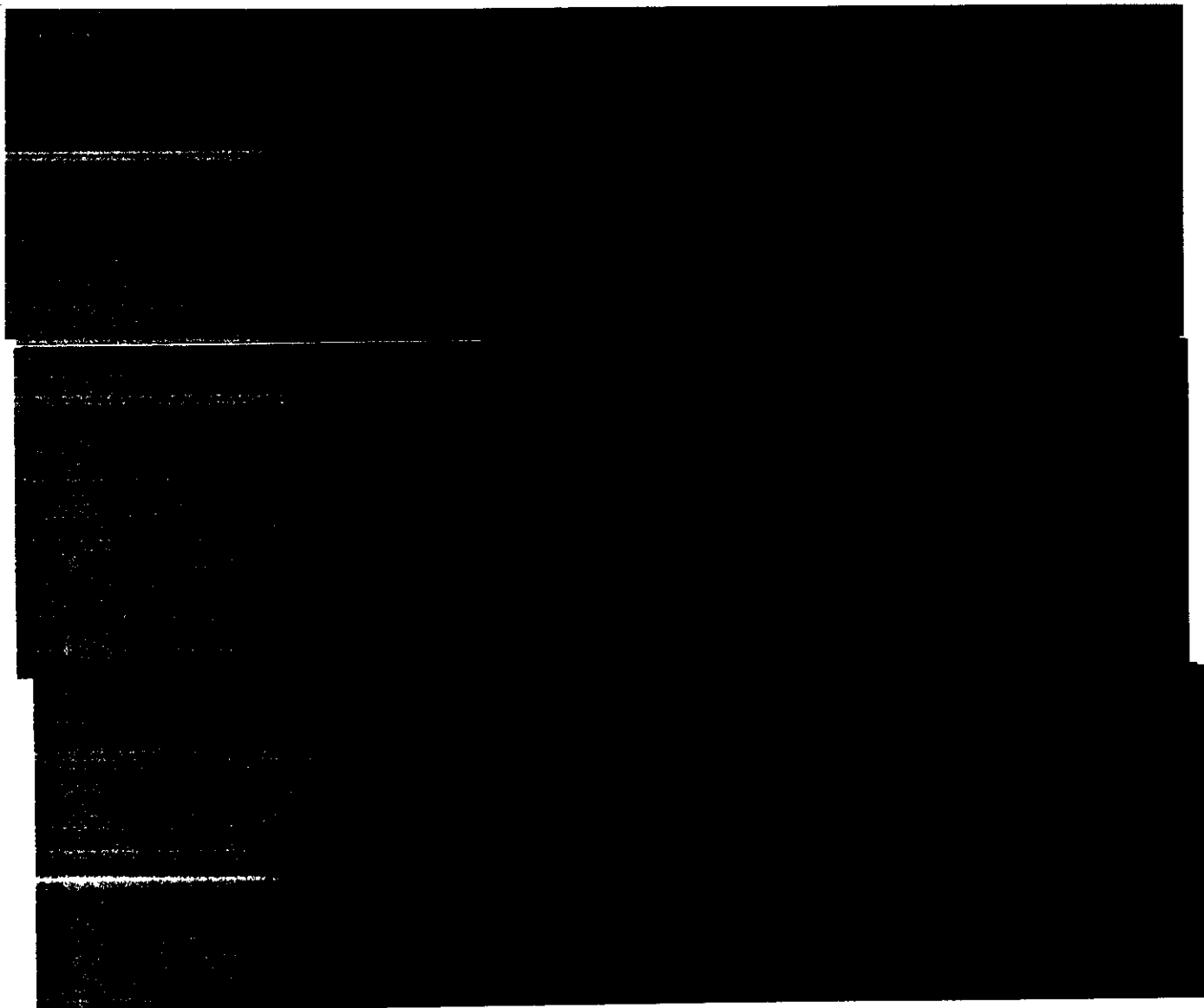
CE 157-6171

better copies of some of the information for Xeroxing, however, this was not successful, and the extensive investigative period of this report is necessary to include information in the report which was to be revised and additional evidentiary data obtained since that time.

INFORMANTS:

Identity

Location



Identity

Location

[REDACTED]

SF T-16, SF T-22 and WF T-10 are technical installations authorized by the Attorney General of the United States and any information obtained, if to be made public, must be introduced by the Special Agent of the particular office having made the pertinent transcript.

Unless otherwise noted, investigation at Winston-Salem, N. C., was by SA [REDACTED] at High Point, N. C., by SA [REDACTED] and at Chapel Hill, N. C., by SA [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

CE 157-6171

LEADS:

CHARLOTTE:

AT HIGH POINT AND WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

Will follow activities of Black Panther Party.

AT CHARLOTTE, N. C.

Will submit monthly report.

D*
COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of: SA [REDACTED]
Date: April 22, 1971

Office: CHARLOTTE

Field Office File #: 157-6171

Bureau File #: 105-165706
Sub 8

Title: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS; SMITH ACT OF 1940; SEDITION
CONSPIRACY; REBELLION AND INSURRECTION

Synopsis:

The Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) was elevated to the status of a Black Panther Party Chapter and furnishes leadership for organizational activities at Winston-Salem, High Point, Chapel Hill, and Lumberton, N. C. Former headquarters 1602 East 14th St., burned on 11/27/70, and activities moved to 1616 East 23rd Street, 1127 East 23rd Street, and 1386 Wilson St. The group follows ten point and other programs of Black Panther Party, maintains weapons, and fortified their headquarters and receive and sell the Black Panther party newspaper.

- P -

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP
DECLASSIFIED
DATE 3-9-77 BY SP/2 FCDECLASSIFIED BY 60360
ON 3/1/77 [signature]

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DETAILS:

Characterizations of the Black Panther Party, Students for a Democratic Society, and Young Socialist Alliance are attached as appendices to this report.

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I. REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM AND POLICIES AS
EXPRESSED BY BLACK PANTHER PARTY LEADERS

On November 27, 1970, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] reported that at approximately 12 noon, one rental truck bearing North Carolina License [REDACTED], a white Thunderbird bearing North Carolina License [REDACTED], a red Dodge bearing North Carolina License [REDACTED] and a Volkswagen Station Wagon bearing North Carolina License [REDACTED] departed the National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) Headquarters at Winston-Salem, apparently en route to Washington, D. C. No estimate could be made of the exact number of people in the group.

Records of the North Carolina Department of Motor Vehicles (NCDMV), as obtained from the Charlotte, North Carolina, Police Department, indicate that North Carolina License [REDACTED] is registered to a 1960 Ford Sedan to [REDACTED] Winston-Salem, North Carolina; that North Carolina License [REDACTED] is registered to a 1965 Dodge two-door in the name of [REDACTED] North Carolina; that North Carolina License [REDACTED] is registered to a 1967 Volkswagen Station Wagon to [REDACTED] Winston-Salem, North Carolina; and that North Carolina License 2594-H is registered to a 1968 International Truck owned by Truck Leasing Service, 507 Arlington Street, Greensboro, North Carolina.

On November 27, 1970, [REDACTED] reported that LARRY LITTLE of the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, National Committee to Combat Fascism, had made inquiries of a number of bus lines concerning the leasing of a bus for a trip to Washington, D. C. LITTLE was offered a bus by [REDACTED]; however, he failed to recontact the bus line to obtain a bus and his method of transportation to Washington, D. C., is not known to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] who has knowledge of activities at Chapel Hill and Durham, North Carolina, reported that on November 25, 1970, approximately twenty individuals, all white members of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), New University Conference, Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) or other such group, plan to travel to the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention (RPOCC) with this travel to be made by personally owned automobiles. Exact details were not known to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] reported the following information:

On November 27, 1970, the Southern Section of the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention registered at the All Saints Unitarian Church located at Sixteenth Street and Harvard Avenue, Washington, D. C. There were approximately seventy five to one hundred persons there at about 9 a.m., sixty per cent of which were white.

Two security guards were observed at each entrance to the church. No one with a camera was permitted to enter and one person who endeavored to do so was bodily thrown out. No fee was charged for registration, but donations for the Black Panther Party were received and most people gave \$5 or more.

Upon registration, the normal registration packet was not provided, instead each person was given a slip of paper reflecting the registration, but containing no instructions. Those people who registered were told to wait and most did so throughout the morning without receiving any instructions whatsoever.

Among those observed outside the church were the following:

X D.C.

D.C.

Cars, operated in the area by the white persons seeking to attend the convention, bore license numbers including South Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia.

There were persons in the area selling books such as Education and Revolution by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, The Ideology of the BPP, Capitalism Does Equals Genocide, and We The People. Also being sold in the area were newspapers including Rise Up in Anger of the Women's Liberation, The Quick Silver Times, The Militant, and the BPP paper.

On November 27, 1970, after lunch, the group continued to hang around the Unitarian Church until about 4:45 p.m. No significant instructions were received. Many of those present were furious at the lack of organization. However, it was announced that there would be a mass meeting in the Malcolm X Park at Seventeenth Street and Euclid Street that night.

There a person, referred to as "BIG MAN", spoke. He told how Howard University should have let the Black Panther Party hold the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention on campus free. His talk and the activities in the park concluded by about 9 p.m.

"BIG MAN" appeared to be a Negro male, twenty five to twenty seven years of age, six feet three inches tall, weighing 200 pounds, with an Afro hairdo and a Vandyke beard with a very black complexion.

On Saturday, November 28, 1970, approximately one thousand persons were gathered at the Unitarian Church. Most of those present, a large number of whom were white, broke into small discussion groups on an informal basis as there was again no formal program or workshop.

D.C. Sometime during the morning, approximately five members from the Black Panther Party, including a person identified as MICHAEL TARBOR, from New York, New York, appeared briefly and announced that the constitution would be read at Saint Stevens Episcopal Church that night.

At approximately 7:15 p.m., November 28, 1970, Saint Stevens Episcopal Church in Washington, D. C., was filled to capacity. In addition, microphones were set up to play to people in the yard outside. MICHAEL TARBOR did most of the talking. He gave a brief background of the various workshops in connection with the creation of the constitution. Included in these workshops were the following:

Women's Liberation

Gay Liberation

Women In General

E. C. Women

Means of Production

Control of Land

Control of Military

Internationalism

Self-Determination for Street People

Self-Determination for National Minorities

Children's Rights

Revolutionary Artists

Religious Repression

Drugs

Health

Education

Legal System

Political Prisons

A list of information centers was furnished and the constitution read.

On Sunday, November 29, 1970, a number of persons reassembled at the church. However, mostly white radicals were present. Again there was no formal meeting or announcements.

In general, the tenure of those present was the expression of a general disgust toward the United States Government and expressed preference for Communism. Since the black people were a minority, it was necessary for them, including those led by the Black Panther Party, to combine with the white radicals against the establishment. This group indicated a hope for support from Russia and other Marxist nations.

[REDACTED] advised that approximately twenty people from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, traveled to the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention in three cars and a Hertz truck. They arrived late because a wheel came off the truck near Henderson, North Carolina, and the Black Panther Party members from Winston-Salem are accusing the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Hertz of collusion due to this vehicle's failure. It was determined that the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention was described by those in attendance as being a disorganized fiasco and most of the members from Winston-Salem were put to work on their arrival at such places as a medical clinic or typing, filing, and so forth.

*D.C.
N.C.* On [REDACTED] reported that JAMES ARTHUR POWERS and RUSSELL EDWARD MC DONALD were the only known individuals from the Lumberton, North Carolina, area, who attended the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention during the Thanksgiving weekend. As of [REDACTED] 1970, these two had not returned to Lumberton and there was some indication that a Panther member from New York will come with them when they do return.

RUSSELL MC DONALD

[REDACTED] advised that he first joined the BPP in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, [REDACTED] at which time ROBERT GREER was the head man. [REDACTED] stated that, since GREER left the BPP, the unit in Winston Salem, North Carolina, has been falling apart. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] named the following individuals as members and sympathizers that he knew of in the NCCF at Winston-Salem, North Carolina:

LARRY LITTLE

JULIUS CORNELL

N.C. X BATESTI

N.C. X JESSE STITT

[REDACTED] Winston-Salem, N. C. [REDACTED]

On [REDACTED] of [REDACTED] File # [REDACTED]
by SA [REDACTED] 077
SA [REDACTED] Date dictated [REDACTED]

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ROBERT GREER

NELSON HALLOY

HAZEL MACK

DANIEL SMITH

ED McQUEEN

LEE FAYE MACK

RICKIE HOOPER

NANCY SMITH

JAMES FORD

██████████ advised that CLARA and RUTH MACK are not members of the NCCF at Winston-Salem as LEE FAYE MACK did not want them to join. ██████████ advised that LEE FAYE MACK is not actually a member of the BPP but helps them in many ways. ██████████ advised that BATESTI, JESSE STITT, and ROBERT GREER are no longer members of the NCCF at Winston-Salem as all have quit. He stated that "TOOTSIE" CHRISS quit the NCCF group and her whereabouts is not known to him. He stated that DANIEL SMITH also gave up the BPP, and LARRY LITTLE and JULIUS CORNELL believe SMITH was helping the Police Department.

██████████ advised that, while he was in the NCCF at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, he went through the training program that all community workers go through after which he sold newspapers and talked to the people in the community about the BPP.

██████████ advised that JULIUS CORNELL had advised him that RICHARD CARTER and RONALD CARNES were no longer in Winston-Salem and offered no explanation as to their whereabouts. He advised that LARRY CAIN had left Winston-Salem after being caught in an unknown criminal act. He stated that CAIN and LARRY LITTLE

never did get along and at one time CAIN was going to complain to National Headquarters in Oakland, California, concerning the way in which the NCCF in Winston-Salem was being handled. [REDACTED] advised that he did not know if CAIN had made the complaint or not.

[REDACTED] advised that THERESA THOMAS, an ex-Black Panther member, had an argument with LARRY LITTLE after which she quit the NCCF.

[REDACTED] advised that, while he was a member of the NCCF at Winston-Salem, he had seen only a few guns around BPP headquarters which was located at 1602 East Fourteenth Street but had never noticed any hand grenades or any other explosive devices.

[REDACTED] stated that he had never informed to the Police Department concerning the NCCF.

[REDACTED] stated that the black people in the black community no longer believe in the BPP

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and the change has been through the leadership. [REDACTED] advised that LARRY LITTLE is no where near the leader that ROBERT GREER was.

N.C. [REDACTED] advised that he had not seen AUGUSTUS DART, DONALD SHORE or WILLIAM LAZENBY for several months and had no idea as to their whereabouts. N.C.

On [REDACTED] 1970, [REDACTED] reported that RUSSELL EDWARD MC DONALD and JAMES ARTHUR POWERS returned from the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention on December 3, 1970, and would make no statement other than that they will make a full report to the Black Panther Party group at Lumberton, North Carolina, at a later date.

[REDACTED] reported that RUSSELL MC DONALD is upset with the Black Panther Party because he had previously been told that if anything went wrong and he was captured by the police, the Black Panther Party would come to his assistance with money and legal help, which has not materialized in connection with his arrest for the shooting at the Urban Redevelopment Commission in Lumberton, North Carolina.

On [REDACTED] reported that LARRY LITTLE had made the statement that JANE FONDA, the actress, was on a fund raising campaign for the Black Panther Party in connection with her appearing in Durham, North Carolina, and that HUEY NEWTON is to come to North Carolina in the near future. (u)

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On November 27, 1970, information was received from [REDACTED] that the Black Panther Party Headquarters, 1602 East Fourteenth Street, caught on fire shortly after 1 p.m.

[REDACTED]

XXXXXX
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105-165706-8-502 pages 18-24

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CE 157-6171

On December 9, 1970, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
property at 1602 East 14th Street [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and in the presence of [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] with his permission, this building was searched and
the following items obtained:

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On orders from the Ministry of Education, we have moved to take all troops back over the Ten Point platform and Program, Three Main rules of Discipline, Motto, Cardinal Rules of the Party, and the Twenty-six General Rules. We are now having vigorous Political Education classes and we are trying to instill conscience discipline in the troops as far as their studies are concerned.

Technical Equipment classes are being intensified so that all troops will know how to operate and service weapons correctly to the fullest extent.

(Political Education Classes for the Community)

Political education classes for the community are held on Tuesday and Thursday nights from 7:00 until 9:00. Classes range from 5 to 30 people. Usually we will go over articles in the newspaper or some events that went down in the community. We're trying to get the people from the community P.E. classes to move to a higher level and take part in the programs for the people.

Existing Programs

At this time the only consistent program we have is the Free Breakfast For Children Program. The attendance is very poor at both sites. A lot of this can be attributed to school children having to catch a bus so early in the morning. However, I think that we are going to have to move to intensify door to door work with the Breakfast Program and also obtain more transportation for the children. This way they could afford to miss the school bus and still be assured of getting to school on time.

1. Handguns con't.

C. Balance of Power. Armed with any of the following pieces the teaching of Huey P. Newton, and the correct military tactics you will be more than a match for the pig.

1. 357 Mag. (this piece will crack an engine block on a car when loaded with armor piccing.)
2. 41 Mag.
3. 44 Mag.

2. SHOTGUNS AND RIFLES: (bolt action, pump, and semi automatic.)

When acquiring rifles the military surplus or military style weapon is preferred due to the ease in which they can be taken apart, for maintenance and cleaning and simplicity of operation. Other factors that should be taken into consideration are repair parts and ammo. Odd Cal. weapons must be discouraged and stress should be placed on getting the cal. of weapons that the pigs will have ammo. for.

1. Suicide Specials (little more effective than being hit by a fly.)

- a. 22 rifles (except the 22-250, .223, 22 Mag.)
- b. .410 Shotgun (this is a shotgun in name only as far as we are concerned. It shoots a shot about the size of babes.)

2. SHOTGUNS: Most effective short range weapon-rapid fire can produce machine gun effect. Automatics have been known to jam badly. A 6 or 7 shot 12 gauge pump is very effective. Only double 0 buckshot or rifle slugs should be used.

A. Short Barrels-----use OOB

1. 20 inches--24 inches effective up to 75 yds.
(3/4 block)

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2. 18 inches-shortest legal length that can be bought in gun store.
3. Sawed off-very effective for ripping off and close combat 9-25 yds (1/4 block)
- B. Long Barrel-----OOB or Rifled slugs.
 1. 26-28 inches---Range 100 yds (one block)
 2. 28-32 inches---Goose guns effective up to 1½ blocks.
3. RIFLES: Here we stress military type over civilian type. The military have a larger magazine capacity and hold more shells.
 - A. Bolt actions: These should be equipped with scopes and used for special purpose weapons.

ESSAYS FROM
THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE
HUEY P. NEWTON

IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE

June 20, 1967

Laws and rules have always been made to serve people. Rules of society are set up by people so that they will be able to function in a harmonious way. In other words, in order to promote the general welfare of society, rules and laws are established by men. Rules should serve men, and not men serve rules. Much of the time, the laws and rules which officials attempt to inflict upon poor people are non functional in relation to the status of the poor in society.

These officials are blind to the fact that people should not respect that are not serving them. It is the duty of the poor to write and construct rules and laws that are in their better interests. This is one of the basic human rights of all men.

Before 1776, white people were colonized by the English. The English government had certain laws and rules that the colonized Americans viewed as not in their best interests but as a colonized people. At that time the English government felt that the colonized Americans had no right to establish laws to promote the general welfare of the people living here in America. The colonized American felt he had no choice but to raise the gun in defense of the welfare of the colonized people. At this time, he made certain laws insuring his protection from external and internal aggressions from governments and agencies. One such form of protection was the Declaration of Independence, which states: "...whenever any government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such forms as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

Now these same colonized white people, these ex-slaves, robbers, and thieves, have denied the colonized black man the right to even speak of abolishing this oppressive system which the white colonized American created. They have carried their madness to the four corners of the earth, and now there is universal rebellion against their continued rule and power. The Black people in America are the only people who can free the world, loosen the yoke of colonialism and destroy the war machine. As long as the wheels of the imperialistic war machine are turning there is no country that can defeat this monster of the West. But Black people can make a malfunction of this machine from within. Black people can destroy the machinery that's enslaving the world. America cannot stand to fight every Black country in the world and fight a civil war at the same time. It is militarily impossible to do both of these things at once.

The slavery of Blacks in this country provides the oil for the machinery of war that America uses to enslave the peoples of the world.

MAR 17 1972

RECEIVED ORIGINAL-RETURN

Without this oil the machinery cannot function. We are the driving shaft; we are in such a strategic position in this machinery that, once once we become dislocated, the functioning of the remainder of the machinery breaks down.

Penned up in the ghettos of America, surrounded by his factories and all the physical components of his economic system, we have been made into "the wretched of the earth," who are relegated to the position of spectators while the white racists run their international con game on the suffering people. We have been brainwashed to believe that we are powerless and that there is nothing we can do for ourselves to bring about a speedy liberation for our people. We have been taught that we must please our oppressors, that we are only ten per cent of the population, and therefore, we must confine our tactics to categories calculated not to disturb the sleep of our tormentors.

The power structure inflicts pain and brutality upon the peoples and then provides controlled outlets for the pain in ways least likely to upset them or interfere with the process of exploitation. The people must repudiate the channels established as tricks and deceitful snares by the exploiting oppressors. The people must oppose everything the oppressor supports and support everything that he opposes. If Black people go about their struggle for liberation in the way that the oppressor dictates and sponsors, then we will have degenerated to the level of grovelling flunkies for the oppressor himself. When the oppressor makes a vicious attack against freedom fighters because of the way that such freedom fighters choose to go about their liberation, then we know we are moving in the direction of our liberation. The racist dog oppressors have no rights which oppressed Black people are bound to respect. As long as the racist dogs pollute the earth with the evil of their actions, they do not deserve any respect at all, and the rules of their game, written in the people's blood, are beneath contempt.

The oppressor must be harassed until his doom. He must have no peace by day or night. The slaves have always outnumbered the slave-masters. The power of the oppressor rests upon the submission of the people. When Black people really unite and rise up in all their splendid millions, they will have the strength to smash injustice. We do not understand the power in our numbers. We are millions and millions of Black people scattered across the continent and throughout the Western hemisphere. There are more Black people in America than the total population of many countries that now enjoy full membership in the United Nations. They have power and their power is based primarily on the fact that they are organized and united with each other. They are recognized by the powers of the world.

We, with all our numbers, are recognized by no one. In fact, we do not recognize our own selves. We are unaware of the potential

power latent in our numbers. In 1967, in the midst of a hostile racist nation whose hidden racism is rising to the surface at a phenomenal speed, we are still so blind to our critical fight for our very survival that we are continuing to function in petty, futile ways. Divided, confused, fighting among ourselves, we are still in the elementary stage of throwing rocks, sticks, empty wine bottles and beer cans at racist cops who lie in wait for a chance to murder unarmed Black people. The racist cops have worked out a system for suppressing these spontaneous rebellions that flare up from the anger, frustration, and desperation of the masses of Black people. We can no longer afford the dubious luxury of the terrible casualties wantonly inflicted upon us by the cops during these spontaneous rebellions.

Black people must now move, from the grassroots up through the perfumed circles of the Black bourgeoisie, to seize by any means necessary a proportionate share of the power vested and collected in the structure of America. We must organize and unite to combat by long resistance the brutal force used against us daily. The power structure depends upon the use of force within retaliation. This is why they have made it a felony to teach guerilla warfare. This is why they want the people unarmed.

The racist dog oppressor fears the armed people; they fear most of all Black people armed with weapons and the ideology of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. An unarmed people are slaves or are subject to slavery at any given moment. If a government is not afraid of the people it will arm the people from foreign aggression. Black people are held captive in the midst of their oppressors. There is a world of difference between thirty million unarmed, submissive Black people and thirty million Black people armed with freedom and defense guns and the strategic methods of liberation.

When a mechanic wants to fix a broken-down car engine, he must have the necessary tools to do the job. When the people move for liberation, they must have the basic tool of liberation: the gun. Only with the power of the gun can the Black masses halt the terror and brutality perpetuated against them by the armed racist power structure; and in one sense only by the power of the gun can the whole world be transformed into the earthly paradise dreamed of by the people from time immemorial. One successful practitioner of the art and science of national liberation and self defense, Brother Mao Tse-tung, put it this way: "We are the advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to take up the gun."

The blood, sweat, tears and suffering of Black people are the foundations of the wealth and power of the United States of America. We were forced to build America, and if forced to, we will tear it down. The immediate result of this destruction will be suffering and bloodshed. But the end result will be the perpetual peace for all mankind.

July 2, 1967

Historically, the power structure has demanded that Black leaders cater to their desires and to the ends of the imperialistic racism of the oppressor. The power structure has endorsed those black leaders who have reduced themselves to nothing more than apologizing parrots. They have divided the so-called black leaders within the political arena. The oppressors sponsor radio programs, give space in their racist newspapers, and have shown them luxury enjoyed only by the oppressor. The Black leaders serve the oppressor by purposely keeping the people submissive and passive - non-violent. At any moment that these so-called Black leaders respond to the cries of the suffering and downtrodden, unemployed and welfare recipients who hunger for liberation by any means necessary.

Historically, there have been a few Black men who have rejected the handouts of the oppressor and who have refused to spread the oppressor's treacherous principles of deceit, gradual indoctrination and brainwashing, and who have refused to indulge in the criminal activity of teaching submission, fear, and love for an enemy who hates the very color black and is determined to commit genocide on an international scale.

There has always existed in the Black colony of Afro-America a fundamental difference over which tactics from the broad spectrum of alternatives Black people should employ in their struggle for national liberation.

One side of this difference contends that Black people are in the peculiar position where, in order to gain acceptance into the "mainstream" of American life, they must employ no tactic that will anger the oppressor whites. This view holds that Black people constitute a helpless minority and that salvation for Black people lies in developing brotherly relations. There are certain tactics that are taboo. Violence against the oppressor must be avoided at all costs because the oppressor will retaliate with superior violence. So Black people may protest, but not protect. They can complain, but not cut and shoot. In short, Black people must at all cost remain non-violent.

On the other side of the difference, we find that the point of departure is the principle that the oppressor has no rights that the oppressed is bound to respect. Kill the slavemaster, destroy him utterly, move against him with implacable fortitude. Break his oppressive power by any means necessary. Men who have stood before the Black masses and recommended this response to the oppression have been held in fear by the oppressor. The Blacks in the colony who were led to the non-violent alternative could not relate to the advocates of implacable opposition to the oppressor. Because the oppressor always prefers to deal with the least radical, i.e., less dangerous, spokesmen for his subjects. He would prefer that his subjects had no spokesmen at all, or better yet, he wishes to speak for them himself. Unable to do this practically he does the next best thing, and endorses spokesmen who will allow him to speak through them to the masses. Paramount amongst his imperatives is to see to it that implacable spokesmen are never allowed to communicate their message to the masses. Their oppressor will resort to any means necessary to silence the implacables.

Their oppressor resort to any means necessary to silence the implacables.

The oppressor, endorsed spokesman, and the implacables form the three points of a triangle of death. The oppressor looks upon the endorsed spokesman as a tool to use against the implacables to keep the masses passive within the acceptable limits of the tactics he is capable of containing. The endorsed spokesman look upon the oppressor as a guardian angel who can always be depended upon to protect them from the wrath of the implacables, while he looks upon the implacables as dangerous and irresponsible madmen who, by angering the the oppressor, will certainly provoke a blood bath in which they themselves might get washed away. The implacables view both the oppressors and endorsed leaders as his deadly enemies. If any thing, he has a more profound hatred for the endorsed leaders than he has for the oppressor himself, because the implacables know that they can deal with the oppressor only after they have driven the endorsed spokesman off the scene.

Historically, the endorsed spokesman have always held the upper hand on the implacables. In Afro-American history, there are shining brief moments when the implacables have outmaneuvered the oppressor and the endorsed spokesman and gained the attention of the Black masses. The Black masses, recognizing the implacables in the depths of their despair, respond magnetically to the implacables and bestow a devotion and loyalty to them that frightens the oppressor and endorsed spokesman into a panic-stricken frenzy, and they leap into a rash act-- murder, imprisonment, or exile -- to silence the implacables and to get their show back on the road.

The masses of Black people have always been deeply entrenched and involved in the basic necessities of life. They have not had time to abstract their situation. Abstractions come only with leisure. The people have not had the luxury of leisure. Therefore, the people have been very aware of the true definition of politics; politics are merely the desire of individuals and groups to satisfy first, their basic needs -- food, shelter and clothing, and security for themselves and their loved ones.

The Black leaders endorsed by the power structure attempted to sell the people the simple-minded theory that politics is holding a political office; being able to move into a \$40, 000 home; being able to dine comfortably in a restaurant while in fact the Black masses have not been able to pay the rent of a \$40.00 rat-infested hovel).

The Black leaders have led the community to believe that brutality and force could be ended by subjecting the people to this very force of self-sacrificing demonstrations. The Black people realize brutality and force can only be inflicted if there is submission. The community has not responded in the past or in the present to the absurd and erroneous, deceitful tactics of so-called legitimate Black leaders. The community realizes that force and brutality can only be eliminated by counter force through self defense. Leaders who have recommended these tactics have never had the support and following of the downtrodden Black masses who comprise the bulk of the community. Grass roots-- the downtrodden of the Black community, even though they rejected the handpicked handkerchief heads

kerchief heads endorsed by the power structure the people have not had the academic or administrative knowledge to form themselves in lone resistance to the brutality.

Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X were the two Black men of the twentieth century who posed an implacable challenge to both the oppressor and the endorsed spokesman that could be dealt with in any other way than precisely the foul manner recorded by history. Malcolm in our time stood on the threshold with the oppressor and the endorsed spokesman in a bag that they couldn't get out of. Malcolm, implacable to the ultimate degree, held out to the Black masses the historical, stupendous victory of Black collective salvation and liberation from the chains of the oppressor and the treacherous embrace of the endorsed spokesman. Only with the gun were the Black masses denied this victory but they learned from Malcolm that with the gun, they can recapture their dreams and bring them into reality.

The heirs of Malcolm now stand millions strong on their corner of the triangle, facing the racist dog oppressor and the soulless endorsed spokesman. The heirs of Malcolm have picked up the gun and taking first things first are moving to expose the endorsed spokesman for the Black masses to see them for what they are and always have been. The choice offered by the heirs of Malcolm to the endorsed spokesman is to repudiate the oppressor and to come back to their people and earn a speedy reprieve or face a merciless, speedy and most timely execution for treason and being too strong for too long.

POLITICAL EDUCATION KIT
for Black Panther Party Members

Primary Objective Objective of Our Party:
To Establish Revolutionary Political Power
for Black People

The Black Panther is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at the present, the Black Panther Party should certainly not confine itself to only fighting: besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, our Party must also shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses, arming Black people, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up party organizations. The Black Panther Party defends itself with guns and force not merely for the sake of fighting but in order to conduct propaganda among the masses, organizing them, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power. Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Black Panther Party loses the reason for its existence.

REPPRESENT: Have Faith in the People and Faith in the Party

NOTE: We do not want War. We are the Advocates of the Abolition of War, but War can only be Abolished through War, and in order to get rid of the Gun, It is Necessary to Pick Up the Gun.

All Power to the People
Black Power to Black People

To see no one harming the interests of the masses and yet not feel indignant, or dissuade or stop him or reason with him, but to allow him to continue. This is an eighth type.

To work half-heartedly without a definite plan or direction: to work perfunctorily and muddle along---"So long as one remains a monk, one goes on tolling the bell." This is a ninth type.

To regard oneself as having rendered great service to the revolution, to pride oneself on being a veteran, to disdain minor assignments while being quite unequal to major tasks, to be sloppish in work and slack in study. This is a tenth type.

To be aware of one's own mistakes and yet make no attempt to correct them, taking a liberal attitude toward oneself. This is an eleventh type.

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TOWARD A NEW CONSTITUTION

by

Hucy P. Newton

WHEN IN THE COURSE OF HUMAN EVENTS, IT BECOMES NECESSARY FOR ONE PEOPLE TO DISSOLVE THE POLITICAL BANDS WHICH HAVE CONNECTED THEM WITH ANOTHER, AND TO ASSUME THE POWERS OF THE EARTH, THE SEPARATE AND EQUAL STATION TO WHICH THE LAWS OF NATURE AND OF NATURE'S GOD ENTITLE THEM, A DECENT RESPECT TO THE OPINIONS OF MANKIND REQUIRES THAT THEY SHOULD DECLARE THE CAUSES WHICH IMPEL THEM TO SEPARATE.

WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT, THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS, THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS. THAT TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS, GOVERNMENTS ARE INSTITUTED AMONG MEN, DERIVING THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED. THAT WHENEVER ANY FORM OF GOVERNMENT BECOMES DESTRUCTIVE OF THESE ENDS, IT IS THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO ALTER OR ABOLISH IT, AND TO INSTITUTE NEW GOVERNMENT, LAYING ITS FOUNDATION ON SUCH PRINCIPLES AND ORGANIZING ITS POWERS IN SUCH FORM, AS TO THEM SHALL SEEM MOST LIKELY TO EFFECT THEIR SAFETY AND HAPPINESS. PRUDENCE, INDEED, WILL DICTATE THAT GOVERNMENTS LONG ESTABLISHED SHOULD NOT BE CHANGED FOR LIGHT AND TRANSIENT CAUSES, AND ACCORDINGLY ALL EXPERIENCE MUST SHOW, THAT MANKIND ARE MORE DISPOSED TO SUFFER, WHILE EVILS ARE SUPPORTABLE, THAN TO RIGHT THEMSELVES BY ABOLISHING THE FORMS TO WHICH THEY ARE ACCUSTOMED. INVARIABLY THE SAME OBJECT EVINCES A DESIGN TO REDUCE THEM UNDER ABSOLUTE DESPOTISM, IT IS THEIR RIGHT, IT IS THEIR DUTY, TO THROW OFF SUCH GOVERNMENT, AND TO PROVIDE NEW GUARDS FOR THEIR FUTURE SECURITY.

Plenary Session

Workshop: Control and Use of the Educational System

1. Liberation schools set-up for pre-school age children
2. Entering school with a political consciousness
3. Community control of schools:
 - a. Parents controlling curriculum
 - b. Community elected board officers
 - c. Power to hire and fire teachers belongs to community elected board
4. Intellectual and cultural education shall be available to all persons:
 - a. Education will deal with the means of survival of the various portions of society
 - b. Education for students will deal with the student as an individual
 - c. The workings of the system on political education should be taught for constant political consciousness
 - d. Schools and institutes will make advanced study available free into any person
 - e. The schools will encourage all persons to expand and realize their creative aspirations. It will especially encourage study in socialist society, human survival, and the truth and workings of the present society

Students' Rights

1. Students in any school will have the right to freedom of speech, dress, and assembly
2. Student government should be controlled by the students
 - a. No rules set-up for who runs for office, ex., grades, conduct, politics, participation in other activities
 - b. Student controlled press (paper), student board to decide what goes in paper and what does not go in
 - c. Freedom to assembly whenever problems arise that the students feel should be solved collectively on a face to face basis
 - d. Student activities not mandatory
 - e. Assemblies left to student decision in accordance with what they feel to be relevant in what things directly relate to them
 - f. No guards in schools for any reason. Community and students will deal with all problems, major or minor
 - g. Students decide their courses according to what they want and think they need. No set curriculum. Courses will be fit to students, not students to the courses
 - h. New grading system established.

All Power to the People!

We the people believe that education should serve the people. It should expose the true nature of this society. Education should assist in teaching us our socialist ideas, and stand as a basis for our socialist practice.

The power of education should and will belong in the hands of the people. We believe that education plays a major role in this system of programming. So we the people must penetrate and seize this tool of the power structure and turn it into a weapon to be used against it.

STATEMENT OF DEMANDS TO THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION
FROM THE FREE REPRESENTATIVES OF NATIONAL GAY LIBERATION

WE DEMAND:

1. THE RIGHT TO BE GAY ANYTIME, ANYPLACE.
2. THE RIGHT TO FREE PHYSIOLOGICAL CHANGE AND MODIFICATION OF SEX UPON DEMAND.
3. THE RIGHT OF FREE DRESS AND ADORNMENT.
4. THAT ALL FORMS OF HUMAN SEXUAL SELF-EXPRESSION DESERVE PROTECTION OF THE LAW, AND SOCIAL SANCTION.
5. EVERY CHILD'S RIGHT TO GROW UP IN A NON-SEXIST, NON-POSSESSIVE ATMOSPHERE, WHICH IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF ALL PEOPLE TO CREATE.
6. THAT A FREE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM PRESENT THE ENTIRE RANGE OF HUMAN SEXUALITY, WITHOUT ADVOCATING ANY ONE FORM OR STYLE; THAT SEX ROLES AND SEX DESIGNATED SKILLS BE NOT IMPOSED BY THE SCHOOLS.
7. THAT HARMACH BE MODIFIED SO THAT NO GENDER TAKE PRIORITY.
8. THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM BE RUN BY THE PEOPLE THRU PEOPLE'S COURTS; THAT ALL PEOPLE BE TRIED BY AGREEMENT OF THEIR PEER GROUP.
9. THAT GAYS BE REPRESENTED IN ALL GOVERNMENTAL AND COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS.
10. THAT ORGANIZED RELIGIONS BE CONSIDERED FOR AGING IN THE GLACIERS OF GAY PEOPLE, AND EXCLUDED FROM TEACHING RITUAL AND ORATION.
11. THAT PSYCHIATRY AND PSYCHOLOGY BE DEPRIVED FROM ADVOCATING A PREFERENCE FOR ANY FORM OF SEXUALITY, AND THE RECOGNITION OF THAT PREFERENCE BY SLOTT TREATMENT, HORMONE THERAPY, SURGERY, ETC.
12. THE ABOLITION OF THE BINARY SEXUALITY BECAUSE IT IMPOSES THE FALSE CATEGORIES OF HETEROSEXUALITY AND HOMOSEXUALITY.
13. THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF AND REPARATIONS FOR GAY AND OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS FROM PRISONS AND MILITARY INSTITUTIONS, THE SUPPORT BY GAY POLITICAL PRISONERS OF ALL OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS.
14. THAT GAYS BE GIVEN THE FREEDOM OF THEIR OWN CONSTITUTION.
15. THAT ALL PEOPLE SHARE EQUALLY THE LABOR AND PRODUCTS OF SOCIETY, REGARDLESS OF SEX OR SEXUAL ORIENTATION.
16. THAT SPECIFICALLY WE DEMAND TO LIBERATE ALL MEMBERS OF THE RACE FROM DURESS.
17. THE FULL PARTICIPATION OF GAYS IN THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY.
18. FINALLY, THE END OF DOMINATION OF ONE PERSON BY ANOTHER.

GAY POWER TO GAY PEOPLE

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

SINCE THE TIME

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STATEMENT OF THE NEW ENGLAND WORKSHOP

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

THE REVOLUTION WILL NOT BE COMPLETE UNTIL ALL MEN ARE FREE TO EXPRESS THEIR LOVE FOR ONE ANOTHER SEXUALLY. WE AFFIRM THE SEXUALITY OF OUR LOVE. THE SOCIAL INSTITUTION WHICH PREVENTS US ALL FROM EXPRESSING OUR TOTAL REVOLUTIONARY LOVE, WE DEFINE AS SEXISM.

SEXISM IS A BELIEF OR PRACTICE THAT THE SEX OR SEXUAL ORIENTATION OF HUMAN BEINGS GIVES TO SOME THE RIGHT TO CERTAIN PRIVILEGES, POWERS, OR JOBS, WHILE DENYING TO OTHERS OTHER FULL POTENTIAL. WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF OUR SOCIETY, SEXISM IS PRIMARILY MANIFESTED THROUGH RACE SUPREMACY AND HETEROSEXUAL ORIENTATION. SINCE IN THE SHORT RUN SEXISM IMPRISON CERTAIN PERSONS OR GROUPS, IN THE LONG RUN IT CANNOT SERVE ALL THE PEOPLE, AND PREVENTS THE FORMING OF COMPLETE SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG STRAITENED MEN.

SEXISM IS INHUMAN, UNJUST AND COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY. SEXISM PREVENTS THE REVOLUTIONARY SCHISM OF THE PEOPLE.

WE DEMAND THAT THE STRONG ACADemy SEXISM BE ACKNOWLEDGED AS AN INHERENT PART OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE. WE DEMAND THAT ALL REVOLUTIONARIES BEAL INDIVIDUALLY AND COLLECTIVELY, WITH THEIR OWN SEXISM.

WE PRODUCE AS A VANGUARD REVOLUTIONARY ACTION THE NEW P. LAMAR STATEMENT ON GAY IDENTIFICATION. WE PRODUCE THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AS BEING THE VANGUARD OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION IN AMERICA.

NO REVOLUTION WITHOUT SEX.

AN ARMY OF LOVERS CANNOT LOSE.

ALL THE POWER TO THE PEOPLE

The revolutionary Asian American Movement extend our fraternal support to all our Third World brothers and sisters and especially our struggling brothers and sisters in Southeast Asia. We understand that all peoples of color throughout the world are oppressed by the racist pig capitalist system. And we see that all our struggles lead to one common goal: the total destruction of the American fascist state.

Asian peoples are well familiar with the methods of fascist repression and enslavement. Asians within America are a colonized people. Ever since the 1800's when we have been kidnapped, indentured, and tricked into coming to this so-called mountain of gold, Asian-Americans have suffered all possible forms of oppression under this capitalist system. Chinese were brought to California to work as forced laborers in railroads, mines, swamps, plantations and cities of the white imperialists. By 1890 from railroad and land reclamation projects alone, Chinese people were responsible for \$200,000,000 that the state of California stole from the people. Not only did these honky pigs steal from us but they did everything else conceivable to oppress us. Asians have been beaten, massacred and humiliated by mobs of racist white dogs. When we finished building up the west, the hordes of greedy expansionist white people crowded into California and forced us into isolated urban ghettos where we have had to struggle for a meager existence ever since.

This country's racist treatment of Asian people reached new heights, of brutality during the second world war when hundreds of thousands of innocent Japanese men, women and child were forced into concentration camps. In the name of protection of democracy the fascist pigs considered before Congress a law to castrate all Japanese males.

In the midst of all this oppression it is easy to see why so much false and despicable racist stereotypes against yellow people had developed. Because yellow people were forced to survive themselves through economic necessity to the most degrading and humiliating work as domestics, cooking gardeners and the worst of all, as houseboys, many people say that Asians are passive and have not struck back against this vicious monster. But history has shown and will continue to show that we have a long record of dealing with pigs. Because we have had no constitutional rights as human beings, whites have constantly invaded our constitution to vent their racist insecurities by brutalizing yellow people. But it was not long before we picked up the gun and chased these renegade dogs out, warning them rather that their next exit would be in a pine box. This struggle of day to day survival goes on unendingly. Working class Asians, the emigrants from other imperialist colonies abroad have faced such tremendous exploitation there, that they are fooled by the lies of which the U.S. imperialist lackey doggles in their faces. Upon arrival in this country, they face the hard reality of isolation, economic exploitation, psychological castration and political disenfranchisement enforced by the portop FBI and the lackey international mafioso running dog Chiang Kai-shek ruling regimes within our own communities.

Asians in this country understand that our oppression is no different from the systematic killing and robbing of colored peoples in the U.S. and around the world. Unable to win in Vietnam and Laos, the U.S. aggressors brazenously engineered the reactionary coup d'etat by the Lon Nol Clique, brazenly dispatched their troops to invade Cambodia and resume the bombing of North Vietnam and this has aroused the furious resistance of the three Indo-Chinese peoples. U.S. Imperialism, which looks like a huge monster, is in essence a paper tiger, new in the throes of its death-bed struggle. Asians, like our Third world brothers and sisters, understand that this monster is the perpetrator of the most hideous crime against us people of color such as Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to which we are sworn to avenge.

Following the standard of revolutionary China, we join the liberation struggles of our brothers and sisters in Southeast Asia. History has shown that this country has long kept in mind its ability to exterminate an entire race of people with concentration camps and methods of mass execution. Such camps exist and are ever ready for us. Pig, J. Edgar Hoover has long stated that every yellow

persons is a threat to the security of this country. Asians in fascist America harbor no doubts that the genocide perpetrated upon our brothers in Asia will soon fall upon us as well. The incident of Japanese during World War II is but a picnic compared to the bloodbath that will occur the next time. We have stated before and we state again that we will not submit to any fascist slaughter without a fight! The only way to prevent this bloodbath is the destruction of the American fascist system with all possible speed. As brother Huey P. Newton, Minister of the Black Panther Party who sees the survival of black people dependent upon the quickest destruction of this pig system, it is clear to us in I Wor Kuen that all oppressed peoples must unite and deal a death blow to this fascist system.

I Wor Kuen finds that there are many contradictions among the people with regard to the racist attitudes towards our brothers and sisters. As brother Huey states, "we recognize our brothers' liberation struggle as our own can we bring about the quickest possible destruction of the American fascist state. Because of the racist stereotypes which this system has forced upon us Asians as well as our Third World brothers and sisters tend to see Asians as non-revolutionary people and find it hard to relate to revolutionary China which actively support the world wide struggle against our common enemy. The division within the Third World racist attitudes towards each other must be ended struggled against and resolved in order to achieve true Third World unity which is essential for the revolution. It is the spirit of the internationalism from which every revolutionary must learn. Learning teaches that the world revolution can only succeed if all Third World Peoples support each other's liberation struggle in the colonies and semi colonies. No revolutionary action must put this into practice. We must educate this concept to our peoples. This is our internationalism, the internationalism which opposes both narrow minded racism and hyper-militarized nationalism. People of the World unite and defeat U.S. aggression and the American ruling class. Unity is Strength

Chairman Mao and Chairman Bobby

in solidarity.

~~XXXX~~
I Wor Kuen (Blackstar Movement)

24 Market St., New York City, N.Y.

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REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLES' CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION
PLENARY SESSION

Workshop: Control and Use of Military and Police
Reggie

Proposals on the Military

1. National defense shall be provided by a system of peoples' militia, trained in guerilla warfare, on a voluntary basis and consisting of both men and women.
2. The U.S. shall not maintain a standing army, since historically a standing army has been used for offensive actions against the people of the United States and around the world.
3. No genocidal weapons shall be manufactured or used.
4. All presently existing offensive equipment and installations shall be made inoperable and unserviceable for its original purpose.
5. The people shall be educated and informed on the action of the militia, and all records shall be open to the public.
6. The government shall be prohibited from sending any personnel, funds, or equipment to any nation for military or police purposes. It should also be prohibited from spending more than 10% of the national budget for any military or police purposes. This can be overridden by a majority vote in a national referendum.
7. No person shall serve full-time in the militia; those serving in the militia shall be paid a fair wage.
8. Militia members shall be governed by the laws of the community in which they serve (or governed by the laws of the nation??)
9. National defense shall be provided by a system of peoples' militias.
10. There shall be no conscription for any armed forces.
11. No peoples' militia shall be stationed outside national boundaries.
12. Government people and military personnel should be defined as one and the same, and not as separate entities in or of the power structure.
13. The people shall have the right to bear arms.
 - a. No citizen shall be prohibited the possession, control or purchase of small arms without the 2/3rds percent of the law.
 - b. Free programs shall be set-up in the training and use of small arms.

Organization, Use of, and Control of the Police

1. The police force shall be a rotating volunteer non-professional body co-ordinated by the Police Control Board from a (weekly) list of volunteers from each community section. The Police Control Board, its policies, as well as the police leadership, shall be chosen by direct popular majority vote of the community.
2. There shall not be set-up, or permitted to exist, a national body of police, or secret body of police, nor shall un-uniformed police be permitted to exist.
3. Any citizen can bring charges against any member or officer of the police force before the Control Board, and the Control Board

- shall have the power to relieve that member or officer of the police force of his or her duty.
4. Community Police Councils may set-up working relations and exchange information with police forces in other communities.
5. The purpose of the people's police force shall be to serve and protect the community.
6. No person can serve on both the police force and the Control Board at the same time.
7. Any member of the Control Board can be removed by direct, popular vote of the people.
8. Funds for community police force and for the community's Control Board shall be provided for by national government under direction of local Control Board.

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REVOLUTIONARY ART

THE WORKSHOP ON THE REVOLUTIONARY ARTS AND ARTIST HEREBY
SUBMIT THE FOLLOWING DECLARATION TO THE PLENARY SESSION OF
THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION:

WE RECOGNIZE;

1. THAT ALL PEOPLE ARE BORN WITH A CREATIVE POTENTIAL AND THAT
THE SOCIETY MUST GUARANTEE THAT EVERY PERSON HAS THE OPPOR-
TUNITY TO DEVELOP AND EXPRESS THAT POTENTIAL.
 2. THAT ART IS A CREATIVE EXPRESSION OF A PEOPLE'S CULTURE OR
WAY OF LIFE.
 3. WE RECOGNIZE THE RIGHT OF EVERY PEOPLE'S CULTURE TO ITS FORM
OF EXPRESSION AND THAT THOSE FORMS OF EXPRESSIONS SHOULD BE
PRESERVED, ENCOURAGED AND DEVELOPED.
 4. WE RECOGNIZE THAT ART SHOULD BE RELATED TO THE INTERESTS,
NEEDS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE PEOPLE.
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Winston-Salem, North Carolina, NCCF Office 1001 By The
People of the Revolutionary Peoples Party
Black Panther Party, Winston-Salem, North Carolina

In a further attempt to prevent the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention from taking place, the fascist pigs moved against the NCCF and the people of Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

On November 27, approximately 60 members of the NCCF and the community left Winston-Salem at noon on their way to Washington, D.C. They were travelling in a hired truck and three cars. Soon after they started on their journey mechanical problems developed with the truck. At Henderson, North Carolina at 4 p.m. they were forced to pull off the road and as they did this the front tire of the truck came off. On investigation, knife marks were found on the tire and the people of the community confirmed that unknown persons were seen around the truck prior to the commencement of the journey.

At 5 p.m. they telephoned Winston-Salem and were then informed that the NCCF headquarters had been burnt down. A member of the NCCF reported that he was in the front office when he smelt smoke. He went to the back and saw a blaze which he tried to put out but was unsuccessful. Eyewitness reports state that something had been thrown into the office.

The fire Department arrived and instead of trying to stop the fire went forward to destroy the office. The local pigs also arrived and confiscated the files and other supplies. They would have taken everything if they had not been prevented by the people of the community who had gathered on the office.

On receiving this information, the people who were stranded in Henderson left the truck and contacted H. Whitmore Inc. to have it repaired. The truck was towed away and left on the road by H. Whitmore, Inc. who stated that it could not be repaired. The FBI, state and local pigs converged on the truck, first informing the occupants that the NCCF in Winston-Salem had been destroyed and then proceeded to their usual brutal manner to conduct a search for weapons.

The people then contacted H. H. in Henderson to see if they would repair the truck. H. H. informed them that they had been contacted by the FBI who told them they were not to repair the truck. The people themselves repaired the truck and were able to leave at 4 a.m. on their way to the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention.

It is obvious that this was a planned attempt by the fascist pigs to prevent the people of Winston-Salem from participating in the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention.

We call upon the oppressed peoples of our Communities under siege here in Babylon to liberate our comrades in Washington D.C. in order that the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention might take place. We call for mobilization for survival until we are able to join the other peoples of the world who have liberated their communities and go forward to implement internationalism.

• All Power To The People

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
November 28, 1970

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THE THREE MAIN RULES OF DISCIPLINE ARE AS FOLLOWS:

1. OBEY ORDERS IN ALL YOUR ACTIONS
2. DO NOT TAKE A SINGLE NEEDLE OR PIECE OF THREAD FROM THE POOR OR MASSES.
3. TURN IN EVERYTHING CAPTURED from the attacking enemy.

THE EIGHT POINTS OF ATTENTION ARE AS FOLLOWS:

1. SPEAK POLITELY.
2. PAY FAIRLY FOR WHAT YOU BUY.
3. RETURN EVERYTHING YOU BORROW.
4. PAY FOR ANYTHING YOU DAMAGE.
5. DO NOT HIT OR SWEAR AT PEOPLE.
6. DO NOT DAMAGE CROPS or property of the poor oppressed masses.
7. DO NOT TAKE INTERESTS WITH WOMEN.
8. DO NOT KIDNAP CAPTIVES. *Do not have to take captives, don't at that time.*

CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM

The Proletarian Party does not fear criticism because we are Marxists, the truth is on our side, and the basic masses, the workers and peasants, are on our side.

Thoroughgoing materialists are fearless; we hope that all our fellow fighters will courageously shoulder their responsibilities and overcome all difficulties, fearing no setbacks or blows, so hesitating to criticize us comrades and give us their suggestions. "He who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts dares to offend the emperor" - this is the indomitable spirit needed in our struggle to build socialism and communism.

Constant practice of self-criticism is still another hallmark distinguishing our Party from all other political parties. As we say, dust will accumulate if a room is not cleaned regularly, our faces will get dirty if they are not washed regularly. Our comrades' minds and our Party's work may also collect dust, and also need sweeping and washing. The proverb "Running water is never stale and a door-knocker is never worn-out" means that constant motion prevents the inroads of germs and other organisms. To check up regularly on our work and in the process develop a democratic style of work, to fear neither criticism nor self-criticism, and to apply such good popular Chinese maxims as "Say all you know and say it without reserve," "Blame not the speaker but be warned by his words" and "Correct mistakes if you have committed them and guard against them if you have not" - this is the only effective way to prevent all kinds of political dust and germs from contaminating the minds of our comrades and the body of our Party.

Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to remove them, the Party's life would come to an end.

We stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for securing unity within the Party and the revolutionary line and program in the interest of the right.

Every Communist and revolutionary should take up this weapon.

But liberalism rejects ideological struggle and stands for unprincipled peace, thus giving rise to a decadent, philistine attitude and bringing about political degeneration in certain units and individuals in the Party and the revolutionary organizations.

In opposing subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped Party writing we must have in mind two purposes: first, "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones," and second, "cure the sickness to save the patient." Which is the only correct and effective method.

Another point that should be mentioned in connection with inner-Party criticism is that some comrades ignore the major issues and confine their attention to minor points when they make their criticism. They do not understand that the main task of criticism is to point out political and organization mistakes. As to personal shortcomings, unless they are related to political and organization mistakes, there is no need to be overcritical or the comrades concerned will be at a loss as to what to do. Moreover, once such criticism develops, there is the great danger that within the Party attention will be concentrated exclusively on minor faults, and everyone will become timid and overcautious and forget the Party's political tasks.

In inner-Party criticism, guard against subjectivism, arbitrariness and the vulgarization of criticism; statements should stress the political side.

Inner-Party criticism is a weapon for strengthening the Party organization and increasing its fighting capacity. In the Party organization of the Red Army, however, criticism is not always of this character, and sometimes turns into personal attacks. As a result, it damages the Party organization as well as individuals. This is a manifestation of petty-bourgeois individualism. The method of correction is to help comrades understand that the purpose of criticism is to increase the Party's fighting capacity in order to achieve victory in the class struggle and that it should not be used as a means of personal attack.

If we have shortcomings, we are not afraid to have them pointed out and criticized, because we serve the people. Anyone, no matter who, may point out our shortcomings. If he is right, we will correct them. If what he proposes will benefit the people, we will act upon it.

As Chinese Communists, who base all our actions on the highest interests of the broadest masses of the Chinese People and who are fully convinced of the justice of our cause, never balk at any personal sacrifice and are ready at all times to give our lives for the cause, can we be reluctant to discard any idea, viewpoint, opinion or method which is not suited to the needs of the people? Can we be willing to allow political dirt and germs to dirty our clean faces or eat into our healthy organisms?

77

Countless re-... people have laid down the lives
in the interest of the people and our hearts are filled with
pain as we think of them--can there be any personal
interest, then, that we would not sacrifice or any error that
we would not discard?

We must not become complacent over any success. We should
check our complacency and constantly criticize our short-
comings, just as we should wash our faces or sweep the floor
every day to remove the dirt and keep them clean.

As for criticism, do it in good time; don't get into the habit
of criticizing only after the event.

Taught by mistakes and setbacks, we have become wiser and han-
dle our affairs better. It is hard for any political party
or person to avoid mistakes, but we should make as few as
possible. Once a mistake is made, we should correct it, and
the more quickly and thoroughly the better.

LIBERALISM

Liberalism manifests itself in various ways.

To let things slide for the sake of peace and friendship
when a person has clearly gone wrong, and refrain from prin-
ciple argument because he is an old acquaintance, a fellow
townsman, a schoolmate, a close friend, a loved one, an old
colleague or old subordinate. Or to touch on the matter
lightly instead of going into it thoroughly, so as to keep
on good terms. The result is that both the organization and
the individual are harmed. This one type of liberalism.

To indulge in irresponsible criticism in private instead of
actively putting forward one's suggestions to the organization.
To say nothing to people in their faces but to gossip behind
their backs, or to say nothing at a meeting but to gossip
afterwards. To show no regard at all for the principles of
collective life but to follow one's own inclination. This
is a second type.

To let things drift if they do not affect one personally;
to say as little as possible while knowing perfectly well
what is wrong, to be worldly wise and play safe and seek
only to avoid blame. This is a third type.

Not to obey orders but to give pride of place to one's own
opinions. To demand special consideration from the organi-
zation but to reject its discipline. This is a fourth type.

To indulge in personal attacks, pick quarrels, vent personal
spite or seek revenge instead of entering into an argument
and struggling against incorrect views for the sake of unity or
progress or getting the work done properly. This is a fifth type.

To hear incorrect views without rebutting them and even to
hear counter-revolutionary remarks without reporting them,
but instead to take them calmly as if nothing had happened.
This is a sixth type.

To be among the masses and fail to conduct propaganda and
agitation or speak at meetings or conduct investigations and
inquiries among them, and instead to be indifferent to them and
show no concern for their well-being, forgetting that one is
a Communist and behaving as if one were an ordinary non-
pampered. This is a seventh type.

To see someone handling the interests of the masses and yet not feel indignant, or dissuade or stop him or reason with him, but to allow him to continue. This is an eighth type.

To work half-heartedly without a definite plan or direction; to work perfunctorily and muddle along--"So long as one remains a monk, one goes on tolling the bell." This is a ninth type.

To regard oneself as having rendered great service to the revolution, to pride oneself on being a veteran, to disdain minor assignments while being quite unequal to major tasks, to be sloshod in work and slack in study. This is a tenth type.

To be aware of one's own mistakes and yet make no attempt to correct them, taking a liberal attitude toward oneself. This is an eleventh type.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date _____

North Carolina, [redacted] National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) member, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, was contacted at [redacted] and furnished the following information:

[redacted] advised that, [redacted] she was associated with the NCCF in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. [redacted]

[redacted] was because of her attitude and work while she was in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. [redacted] stated that she was able to [redacted] and was aware of the basic ideals of the NCCF.

[redacted] advised that she believed in some of the NCCF beliefs but that she did not believe in extorting or demanding food and clothes from other people in the black community. [redacted] stated that food and clothing should be obtained through voluntary assistance and not through extorting.

[redacted] advised that the political views of the Black Panther Party are not based on future activities but are based on things that are happening right at the moment. [redacted] advised that the main difficulty with the NCCF group in Winston-Salem was that people found out that there was work to do and did not like to work. [redacted] advised that JERRY LITTLE was the strongest of the NCCF members and believed wholeheartedly in what he was doing.

[redacted] advised that the NCCF group in Winston-Salem lacked unity between people in the community in their NCCF group.

On _____

File # _____

Charlotte [redacted]

SA [redacted]

SA [redacted]

/rep

Date dictated _____

[REDACTED] advised that the breakfast program for the little children was a very outstanding characteristic of the NCCF group in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that, as far as she is concerned, not only JULIUS CORNELL could possibly be a police informer but that all members could be informers.

[REDACTED] advised that she does not believe there is enough unity between the Police Department in Winston-Salem and the NCCF group but that, if their aims were similar, then it would be easier for them to work together. She stated that she found some policemen are very nice individuals while others seem to be racist. She stated that she looks at the people as individuals before classifying anyone as a "pig." She stated that, if policemen could control their emotional outlet in regard to the name "pig," things could be better in the community.

[REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] has a questionable personality, and she doubts if he will give up his Black Panther work.

[REDACTED] advised that LEE FAYE HACK wants to be on everybody's side but mainly is interested in helping black people. HACK does not like the middle black people running over the lower-class black people. She stated that HACK's group called Mothers for Black Liberation was an organization of the Black Panther Party members' mothers, whose main objective was to help people in the community understand the Black Panther Party. [REDACTED] advised that the main trouble with the Mothers for Black Liberation group was that those who joined found out that they would have to work and did not like this. [REDACTED] advised

3
[REDACTED]
that a lot of MACK's members in the Mothers for Black Liberation have since quit the Black Panther Party; therefore, the Mothers for Black Liberation group has almost become defunct. [REDACTED] stated that the Mothers for Black Liberation may be extinct now as far as she knows.

[REDACTED] advised that she has heard of the Committee of Twenty-Five and has read one or two of the letters sent out by the group in Winston. [REDACTED] advised that she did not believe that the Committee of Twenty-Five used the right choice of words in running down LARRY LITTLE. [REDACTED] advised that no one knows who the writers are but that the ROCC members suspect that the black people connected with police work are responsible for the letter.

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] D.C.
N.C.

He advised a talent show called "Mustang Sally's Review" was held at the Atkins High School gymnasium several weeks ago and there were approximately 150 people there. He said the show was very good but almost everyone there besides them and the Panther members were homosexuals.

He noted that LARRY LITTLE asked all of them if they wanted to serve the people more, and he said he would, and he sold Black Panther newspapers in Greensboro and in High Point on one day several weeks ago. He said [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] car to Greensboro and sold papers. He said NATHANIEL STEWART was talking to a girl in the Black Panther Party, but he quit her as he did not want to get involved with the Black Panthers.

[REDACTED] continued that on [REDACTED] he attended a class in a house on 23rd Street one evening and this class was taught by HAZEL BACK and was on political power and the American constitution. She talked about how the constitution was not what it was supposed to be and did not serve the black and poor people.

N.C.
O.C.

This class was attended by [REDACTED] and HAZEL BACK, LARRY LITTLE, BRAD (last name unknown), NELSON (last name unknown), GARY LILLEY, LARRY MEDLEY, SHERMAN JAMES, JANE MAIZE (phonetic), "PAPADOC," and about six homosexuals were in attendance. Also, WALTER BAKER and RICKY COOPER and "COON," were there. He said he saw only one pump gun of some kind sitting in the corner but saw no other weapons. N.C.

He continued [REDACTED] North Carolina, started selling Black Panther papers for this group, and [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] said if she was working in the Black Panther Party, she would have to "relate" to any member of the party that wanted her. He also said she would have to have another "half" and would have to go the "family plan." All of this meant she would have to have sexual relations with any Black Panther member that wanted her.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and "TINA" NELSON, BOB GORMS (from High Point, North Carolina), FRANKIE PICKEN PACT (phonetic) rode in that vehicle.

In the truck was DIANE GRAY, DORA GRAY, RUSSELL (last name unknown), who drove, NE RE, SHERMAN JAMES, HAZEL MACK, LARRY LITTLE, GARY LILLEY, SONORA GALLERY (from High Point) and IVY ALLEN (from High Point). He said there were approximately a maximum of 40 individuals in the truck, but he could not name anyone else.

"PAPADOC" supposedly went up early that morning to Washington, D. C., as they met him there.

There was a Volkswagen van, and Mr. MACK, JANET MAIZE (phonetic), and eight others from Winston-Salem, went up and a white man was driving the van. Some Black Panther party members from High Point seem to know that person. On the way to Washington, D. C., they had two flat tires in the Dodge

[REDACTED]

near Henderson, North Carolina, and a wheel fell off the truck in Henderson, North Carolina. The police drove by, and LARRY LITTLE had all the people move off the highway into the woods. LARRY LITTLE called the Hertz Company, who told him the FBI had told them not to rent them trucks or have that one fixed. A truck came and pulled their truck off the road and said it would be several days before they could fix the truck. The police came and asked several questions, and LARRY LITTLE contacted some people who came in Cadillacs, and took some of the Panther members to a church. They then went and got a tire and put it on the truck. He said there was food for the convention in the truck, but there were no guns or typewriters.

He noted in Washington, D. C., everyone went to the All Souls Episcopal Church in Washington, and the convention, which was a fiasco, was held in the streets.

[REDACTED] noted the Black Panther Party headquarters in High Point, North Carolina, was on Holden Street, and added that [REDACTED]

BRAD, NELSON, and PAPADOC stayed in High Point, and he noted they had at least two shotguns in High Point.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

When questioned concerning "MALIK", he advised he understood that "MALIK" was hiding somewhere from the police.

[REDACTED] added that "PAPADOC" was one of the medics in Washington, D. C., at the convention, and he did come back with the Winston-Salem group. JAMES FORD was told to

stay in Washington, D. C. by one of the Black Panther leaders, and this was supposed to be for further education. One person came down from Washington, D. C. with the group, and he drove the truck back. His name is not known, but he was 6 feet 2 inches tall, 185 pounds, very muscular, with a Fu Man Chu mustache, goatee, bush haircut, and long sideburns. He was about 24 to 25 years of age.

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F B I BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date [REDACTED]

N.C. 1
D.C.

[REDACTED]

At the outset of the interview, [REDACTED] was very antagonistic and was most uncooperative and refused to answer any questions directed to him including furnishing physical descriptive data. The only comment he made was "all power to the people" and "down with pigs."

[REDACTED] was extremely anti-white and anti-law enforcement and was belligerent, and through the tone of his voice it was apparent he detested being interviewed by a white man.

In view of the above and with [REDACTED]'s refusal to cooperate or answer any questions, this interview was terminated.

On [REDACTED]

N. C.

File #

Charlotte [REDACTED]

by [REDACTED]

Date dictated [REDACTED]

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On [REDACTED] reported that LARRY DONNELL LITTLE after hearing and observing the shooting up of the headquarters of 1127 East 23rd Street, was ranting and raving to the point of hysteria. He made the statement that ambushes should be set up to maybe shoot police officers.

[REDACTED] other members of the Black panther party at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, it was determined that the group is considering committing armed robberies to raise money due to their current financial difficulties. Also discussed was the possibility of bringing in outside Black Panther Party members to commit these robberies, noting that the group at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, is well known to the local police and other law enforcement and appear to be "laying low." By this, source meant not taking any action themselves in this regard.

On March 19, 1971, a tape recording of public statements as made by LARRY LITTLE concerning the fire at 1602 East 14th Street and the raid on the house at 1127 East 23rd Street, was made available and follows:

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Date [REDACTED]

1

[REDACTED] group had guns at first and he then realized there was no value in this and he did not carry guns any longer.

[REDACTED] LARRY LITTLE to go to California because he came back totally and thoroughly indoctrinated. He said LARRY LITTLE was the kind of person who had to read something four or five times and then did not really understand it but could repeat it. He said he cannot reason for himself and could be used well by someone else. He continued [REDACTED] considerable support from the people while [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] including the feeling that one could not work at a job and still be a member of the Black Panther Party. He said that this was absolutely ridiculous but added that this was the general way the party was going, and [REDACTED]. He added the Black

On [REDACTED] at Winston Salem, N. C.

File [REDACTED]

by [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]
DBH:grj

Date dictated [REDACTED]

2
Panther Party version that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
He said the Black Panther Party in Winston Salem has now just become a group of thieves and are really doing nothing but lying around, stealing, and supporting themselves in that manner. He added as an example the owners of Ford's Store across the street from the old Panther headquarters at 1602 East 14th Street had contributed to the party [REDACTED] but after LARRY LITTLE took over, and they stole from him, he now refuses to contribute or support it in anyway.

When questioned concerning any clandestine portion of the Black Panther Party, he said there was no military or underground group in Winston Salem and he could make a flat statement that none of the people who were considered ex-Panthers [REDACTED] or into any kind of military organization.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
that she was very much afraid that the FBI agents would get her out some place and "off her." He also noted that [REDACTED] was the father of [REDACTED] baby.

[REDACTED] said he was very concerned about the Panther group here as they seemed to be falling apart and that JULIUS CORNWELL and LARRY LITTLE would do everything in their power to keep from losing their positions of power in that group. He said he thought LARRY LITTLE might make some of his rash statements and comments in an effort to prove his manhood

9.5

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date February 9, 1971

[REDACTED] North Carolina,
was contacted at [REDACTED] residence and furnished the following
information:

D.C.
N.J. [REDACTED] advised that an individual who identified himself
as VICTOR PEREZ came to the Black Panther party National
Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) headquarters in Winston-Salem,
North Carolina, on an unrecalled date at which time he advised
that he had been affiliated with the Jersey City Black Panther
Party. PEREZ told [REDACTED] he had been kicked out of the party in
Jersey City and was willing to function. [REDACTED] advised after
this contact with PEREZ, [REDACTED] never saw him again and does not
know his whereabouts.

N.C. [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] knew KATHY HARRIS but KATHY
spent most of her time in California. [REDACTED] stated HARRIS and
RICHARD CARTER were supposedly going together [REDACTED]
knew her but when she left to go to California, CARTER remained
in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

[REDACTED] advised an individual known to [REDACTED] as MARY BLUE
had been in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, during the summer of

97

On 2/2/71 at [REDACTED] File # Charlotte [REDACTED]
by SA [REDACTED] :PEC:egp/gs Date dictated 2/3/71

[REDACTED]

1970, that he was not supposed to be in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. [REDACTED] advised that he was not allowed at headquarters while in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, but that the NCCF sent him food.

[REDACTED] stated that BONE's girl friend, whose name [REDACTED] does not know, accompanied him from up North, but [REDACTED] did not know where these two individuals stayed while in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. [REDACTED] stated that BONE was here for only a short time at which time orders came from up state that he was not supposed to be in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and he left. [REDACTED] stated as best [REDACTED] can recall, he was in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, either in August, 1970, or September, 1970.

[REDACTED] stated RONALD CARMES and RICHARD CARTER had both been suspended at the time of their arrest for Armed Robbery in September, 1970. [REDACTED] stated that [REDACTED] understood that both CARTER and CARMES had been associating with the "renegades." [REDACTED] stated approximately three or four weeks prior to their arrest, CARMES and CARTER were seen at ROBERT GREER's apartment.

[REDACTED] stated that CYNTHIA CRISS is a [REDACTED] and is presently residing at 68 Wallash Street, Durham, North Carolina. [REDACTED] stated CYNTHIA is known as "TOOTSIE" and is no longer connected with the Black Panther Party in any way.

[REDACTED] stated that WILLIAM RICE was going with CYNTHIA CRISS. [REDACTED] CRISS and RICE lived together at the Colony Place Apartments, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. [REDACTED] described RICE as a person who liked to dress nice and is all for himself. [REDACTED] stated RICE was a playboy type individual.

[REDACTED] stated that [REDACTED] THOMAS was an ex-girl friend of WILLIAM RICE and had had RICE's baby.

[REDACTED] ANNE CORNELL X
[REDACTED] stated [REDACTED] understood that ANNE CORNELL, wife of JAMES CORNELL, had been told that this street, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, before the Hargeth County Sheriff's
MRS JULIUS WHITE X

Office had evicted the Panthers from this address. [REDACTED] stated ANN CORNELL's mother lives in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and that CORNELL went to her mother's residence.

[REDACTED] stated [REDACTED] thought ANN CORNELL had probably had her fill of the Black Panthers in their recent moving about.

[REDACTED] stated that JERRY LITTLE was a very strong leader in what he is doing and is the type of individual that cannot be talked to with reason. [REDACTED] stated [REDACTED] the NCCF group in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. JERRY LITTLE classified [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that HAZEL MACK was a likeable person who was very sincere about conditions in the black community. [REDACTED] stated [REDACTED] could not say whether HAZEL MACK was a wholehearted Black Panther or not, but would think she was the latter. [REDACTED] stated [REDACTED] would not be able to say whether HAZEL would remain a Black Panther for long or not. [REDACTED] advised that HAZEL liked JERRY LITTLE a great deal, but that between February, 1970, and August, 1970, LITTLE changed from being a one-girl individual to a playboy type. [REDACTED] stated if there had been trouble between HAZEL and LITTLE, that [REDACTED] knows nothing of it.

0

[redacted] advised that WALTINA BANGER was a very willing and sweet and helpful individual. [redacted] described WALTINA BANGER as being an individual that is not easily used or influenced and seemed to want to help the black people.

X N.C.
[redacted] described SAMMY BANGER as a carefree individual who liked to drink wine. [redacted] stated that BANGER was a member of the NCCF group [redacted] but that if he continued to drink, may have problems.

X
[redacted] stated that DAVID BLAIR is a funny type individual who has a bad temper. [redacted] stated BLAIR disliked policemen very much and is no longer active with NCCF group in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

N.C.
[redacted] stated that [redacted] knew JESSE STITT and described him as an individual who did not like to be told by others what to do. [redacted] stated that JACK [redacted] had a very big, big influence on him and that he was described as one of the "renegades."

[redacted] advised [redacted] knew BELORES WRIGHT who was a sister from Augusta, Georgia, and can remember that she liked a brother by the name of WILL [redacted] or [redacted] from Lumberton, North Carolina. [redacted] stated that [redacted] does not remember if JONES or JOHNSON is this individual's right last name, but described him as follows:

WILL

Race:	Negro
Sex:	Male
Age:	22 to 23
Height:	6 feet and 6 feet 1 inch
Weight:	180 pounds
Complexion:	Brown
Characteristics:	Wears a mustache

B. APERCA
1942-1949

[redacted] stated that [redacted] knew FORNEY [redacted] the NCCF headquarters in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, [redacted] he was not considered a full time member. [redacted] stated that STOVER was a part-time member who had problems at home.

CE 157-7809

██████████ stated that JAMES FORD had just returned to Winston-Salem, North Carolina, in November, 1970, ██████████ stated ██████████ did not know anything about FORD being wanted in Georgia and had no idea as to where he was at the present time.

N.C.

██████████ stated WILLIAM MC CAIN, also known as "MALIK", ██████████ was a quiet individual and a loner.

WILLIAM DARNELL MC CAIN

██████████ stated that "FOX" who is GARY LILLEY, was a very quiet individual the first time ██████████ stated before ██████████ November, 1970, LILLEY had changed and ██████████ did not get along with him very well.

██████████ advised that BRADFORD LILLEY, the brother of GARY LILLEY, was a ██████████ ██████████ stated LILLEY was an understanding individual but ██████████ thinks he is in the wrong place. ██████████ stated that BRADFORD came from Fayetteville State University during mid October, 1970, but it seemed as if he was interested in finding something, but did not know what he was hunting.

██████████ advised that BO MC GOWEN was a very strong leader in the party and he was not known to well by ██████████ stated that ██████████ believes he told ██████████ one time he had been a pusher before he became associated with the Black Panther Party in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

██████████ advised that RANDOLPH CARRINGS was a quiet individual whom ██████████ could describe only as being in-between a strong believer and an interested party.

██████████ advised that GRADY FULLER is not a very smart individual and needs help mentally. ██████████ stated GRADY FULLER also known as "GRADY", seems to be somebody but does not know who or where or when. ██████████ stated that FULLER is not capable of making any decisions at all and cannot reason one bit.

██████████ FULLER

PPPH DOG ██████████ FULLER
PPPH DOG ██████████ FULLER

█████ advised that JAMES and DAVID CATO did very little work with the NCCF group ██████ North Carolina. and that ██████ really could not even describe or call them community workers.

█████ advised after observing a photograph of CLARA VINCENT that ██████ had never seen this individual before at the NCCF group in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

█████ identified a photostatic copy of a picture of VICTOR PEREZ at which time ██████ advised that this was the individual who had ██████ with the New Jersey Black Panther party.

█████ identified photographs of the following individuals:

JULIUS CORNELL

LARRY LITTLE

NELSON HALLOY

ED MC QUEEN

JAMES FORD

HAZEL MACK

RICKIE HOOBER

NANCY SMITH

LEO ~~X~~ WOODBURY N.C.

N.C.

JOSEPH ~~X~~ WADDELL JOSEPH ~~X~~ WADDELL

GRADY FULLER

WILLIAM GARY

RANDOLPH GREENINGS

~~_____~~
JAMES CATO N.C.

PAMELA ~~STEVENS~~ N.C.

BRADFORD LILLEY

VICTOR PEREZ

CLARA ~~VINCENT~~ N.C.

KATHY ~~HARRIS~~ N.C. CALIF

GARY LILLEY

WILLIAM MC CAIN

DANIEL ~~SMITH~~ N.C.

LARRY MEDLEY

RUTH ~~BLACK~~

GLORIA ~~BROWN~~ N.C.

RUTH ~~DAY~~ N.C.

~~_____~~ that the Black panthers had approximately ten to twelve guns. ~~_____~~ described these guns as being old, Army high powered rifles and shotguns. ~~_____~~ stated there were no grenades and dynamite in the possession of the NCCF group.

~~_____~~ advise ~~_____~~ that High point was not in the Black Panther picture at all.

~~_____~~
~~_____~~ CORTELL, he seems to have changed and become more realistic than ever before. ~~_____~~ a lot

[REDACTED]

of CORNELL's changes have come about because he has realized that he has responsibilities other than the Black Panther Party. [REDACTED] CORNELL feels that his chances may have already come and gone and that he has been left out. [REDACTED] that [REDACTED] does not know if CORNELL, also known as "COON" may or may not get out of the party.

[REDACTED] advised during August, 1970, a letter arrived at the NCCF headquarters in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, addressed to JULIUS CORNELL. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] the letter which contained approximately \$30, \$40, or \$50 in \$5 bills. [REDACTED] a note was enclosed which read as follows:

"You will get the rest of the money for the information at a later date."

[REDACTED] stated other members of the NCCF group knew about the letter and the money, but they figured it was a pig trick. [REDACTED] stated [REDACTED] does not know to this day, if any one else ever confronted CORNELL with this situation, but [REDACTED] never did. [REDACTED] stated that CORNELL has ulcers and in his present status is not well, physically or mentally. [REDACTED] described CORNELL as being a little unbalanced.

[REDACTED]

Winston-Salem, North Carolina, that they were in poor shape financially. [REDACTED] stated that the Black Panther group was receiving some contributions from the community and from like radicals. [REDACTED] stated the white radicals at the University of North Carolina gave the Black Panther Party in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, money and publicity. [REDACTED] stated that JEFF

[REDACTED]

FONDA contributed a \$1,000 to the NCCF group in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, for JOE WADDELL's bond. [REDACTED] advised this \$1,000 was never used for WADDELL's bond, but was used for the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention and the breakfast program.

[REDACTED] advised that the NCCF group in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, receives some support from the black community but that most of the support comes from the Ghetto areas.

[REDACTED] advised that the Boston Section of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, is a big support area for the NCCF group in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

The following background information was obtained from [REDACTED] from observation and interview: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

LARRY

LITTLE: "... also you're making a complete report from Raleigh. Wasn't this what you told me yesterday? Also, _____ understand anything else, it's very clear that you have been getting pressure from up top because yesterday _____ cars were down here for _____ understand anything so that they have _____ down on the steps of our headquarters."

Reporter: "And so you're not going to say anything and as far as we understand is that the position you're taking is that the fire department _____ (several persons talking at the same time.)"

Another

reporter: "Listen, these boys here when you're all here because _____ (persons talking at the same time)."

LITTLE: "If that's the case, we don't want that. We want you to give them the information that you had of the fire chief here. I'm not going to speak for him, you need to speak for yourselves and your men. That is the reason that we had the talk. He said that the black community was very confused at that time. Now I'm not going to try to speak for you, I can speak for the Black Panther Party. You're going to have to speak for the fire department and also let the people in the black community know that you stated and you could not deny the fact nor repudiate the statement that we made about the policemen _____ and firemen going into our offices, see? Also, the fact there is no _____ (unintelligible) and at the time you stated you were suspicious yesterday. And also the fact the detail about the police department turns the records over to you or you or your men didn't take from our office and the fact that we have tapes here from ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, HUEY P. NEWTON, and that we have records that we haven't even gotten back yet about people who contribute to our organization. And you stated that you will make it known that the firemen didn't take anything from that office and that TUCKER called you at four o'clock, you said that he called you, and said that he was sending stuff down here and this is what you said yesterday. Why didn't you say it on the air to the people of the community so that they can understand this right here now? You said it yesterday, say it now."

Reporter: Reply not audible.

LITTLE: "Well, you said it all yesterday, why can't you say it so all the people can know about it? So the people can have the true word about it? Where is Mr. REYNOLDS (phonetic) at? He was here yesterday. He was agreed to be in on the thing as well as who was that, Mr. PARSON (phonetic), who helped put out the fire? But now who was, who was there? You, I, Mr. CRIM, and a Captain REYNOLDS or Inspector REYNOLDS who was in a meeting yesterday here, talked to you about twelve o'clock and you would be ready to have a press conference and you would announce it over the air at that time. You said who would talk and you said we'd probably have trouble trying to get him out here. You said who was going to come and you said we probably would have trouble trying to get him out here. I tell you I was _____ right there because and I had called him up before and could get him out here and I wouldn't be worried about _____ here so long. And now you're trying to renege the whole thing. _____ for the mere fact that if he's going to take a stand like this, brother; now look here, the fact is if he's going to take a stand like this right here, we're something that is closer to the community. We just speak to the people of the black community; therefore, if he's going to take a stand because he's been pressured by the _____ and the power structure in this city or not to stand or make known to the people of the community about what really went on about our machines getting destroyed purposely by the policemen and the fact is they still have records and stuff of ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and HUEY P. NEWTON that they haven't even turned over to us yet. He won't say any of this now, but the fact is we want to say this, that we showed good faith and you haven't showed good faith. So when you come into the black community now, you might not only be fighting fires, you might be dodging bullets, you see? It's because of you, because of the power structure of Winston-Salem _____ and you see yesterday you didn't say anything and now you're trying to say like it's all gone now. You're trying to say like you know nothing about it and yesterday we sat in here for an hour and a half and we discussed about what we were going to do today and you completely _____ for you and HASTINGS (phonetic), right? You agreed with it; I don't see why you're trying to deny it now.

"We'll just state at least to the black community
(part of sentence unintelligible).

We'll give a statement to the effect of what happened and our interpretation of it; and if he don't want to say anything, well and good, you give him the opportunity, he has equal time. So, therefore, we'll give a statement about what happened yesterday and about you, CLARENCE WILLIS (Phonetic), and HASTINGS (phonetic) and this man, the chief, who were at the meeting yesterday.

N.C.

"Now you're trying to sound ignorant. All right, all right.
(sentence unintelligible).
You tried, now you want to put your men's lives on the line.
You said you wanted the firemen to be exonerated. Isn't that
what you said? We said those who were blameless should be
exonerated. Those who are guilty should be stood accused, see?
You don't understand anything. All right.

"We'll give you a statement. Would you like to take
a statement about what we have to say? For the mere fact that
we have one here. Regardless, he doesn't have to participate
because it's very clear that he's not talking, someone else is
talking for him, that he has no authority whatsoever, it's the
power structure in this city, the ones who are talking for him
now. (sentence unintelligible).
The reason you can't understand anything is because you're part
of the silent majority. Okay. (sentence
unintelligible). We said it right there. We're going to
(part of sentence unintelligible)
and your men will be responsible for that. Call TUCKER your
bed fellow."

Reporter: "Well, if you've got something short, we'll take it.
I'm not promising we'll use it but _____
(rest of sentence unintelligible)."

LITTLE: "Now I'm pretty sure if it's going through _____
... (interrupted)."

Reporter: "Now you know _____ (unintelligible)."

LITTLE: "Well, if that's the case then, but _____
(unintelligible)."

Reporter: "_____ (unintelligible) going to
give you a fair shake. _____ (unintelligible)."

LITTLE: "All right. But we'd like to say at this time that after
we had a meeting with our chief CRIMS, is that his name, PAUL CRIM,
as well as M. H. HASTING, as well as CLARENCE REYNOLDS, people or
officers from the fire department and they told us that they
could not repudiate and they admitted that there were people in
our office when our office was on fire other than firemen. Also
we want the people in the community to know as a result, weapons
as well as personal weapons as well as tapes were confiscated from

our office and as of today we have not received them tapes from our leaders, HUEY P. NEWTON and ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. The fact is that the policemen have admitted taking them, they turned them over to, Chief TUCKER called CRIMS, PAUL CRIMS, and told him that they were going to send the material that they confiscated from our office back to him. He admitted that he wanted no parts of it whatever and I think if you look at it, I think he might have made a statement to the fact publicly or over the radio or even to the newspapers and news reporters that this is what happened. Also we found out that the firemen, I mean the police department, moved to intentionally destroy the machines by kicking them, by as far as trying to damage the keys on electric typewriters. At this time we have not added up all the loss as far as our machines are concerned.

"Also the fact is that the term they are using at this time to describe the burning of our office as suspicious; the real fact that we have people in the community who saw people running from in back of our office prior to the burning and the fact is that they made a statement to the effect from the very beginning that it _____ that we started the fire but the real fact that we found out it was definitely a firebombing, you see? So, therefore, and they cannot repudiate this because they still await its, a final, report from Raleigh, North Carolina. But we want the people in the community to know that we had good intentions, that we took the word of PAUL CRIM, the fire chief, we took the word of HASTINGS, Captain, and we took the word of Inspector CLARENCE WILLIAMS, that they would take part in this press conference to let the people of the community know the facts.

"We from the Black Panther Party are not going to say anything for them. We are going to let them speak for themselves and let the people in the community know really what went on as to the destruction of our office was concerned. At this time we can see very clearly that they had been pressured from the power structure of Winston-Salem, that they have been instructed not at all to go on television or to be seen or even take a part in an interview with us. It is very clear because at this time we are asking them, the people around here are asking them, the newspaper reporters here, and they refuse to make one statement, so it shows very clearly that they have been pressured by the power structure and not making statements to let the people of the black community or the people of Winston-Salem period know actually what, who was responsible for the actual sabotaging of our machines as far as trying to completely curtail the activities of the National Committee here in Winston-Salem.

"We have nothing else to say at this time but we cannot at this time exonerate the actions of the firemen and we ask the people of the black community to be the judges of this right here and let them decide what needs to be done about it. All power to the people."

Reporter: "This matter is still under investigation. Wouldn't it be far to give them time to complete their investigation?"

LITTLE: "About the investigation - I think at this time right now, he could come in here right now and make it known that the term they are using is suspicious other than the faulty wiring they are claiming started the fire from the very beginning. I think at this time now it's not under investigation whether policemen did _____ with the firemen enter into our office to confiscate personal records. In fact I think there was a sheriff shown on television going through our records, taking our personal records, and which I said at this time we still have not received back from the police department. I think at this time it also should be known that the fact is that Chief TUCKER did make a call to PAUL CRIM, the police I mean fire chief, letting him know that they did confiscate records and the only thing that the fire department did get was what was turned over to them by the police department. Now this right here does not _____ for an investigation. The only thing we're waiting for as far as investigation is concerned is the fact for them to come out openly and admit that it was definitely sabotage as far as our office being destroyed. That's the only thing that needs to be investigated. A complete report on this at this time, we don't know whether we'll get it or not."

Reporter: "LARRY, your statement that if CRIM didn't make a statement on this, that he was putting the lives of his men on the line, what did you mean by that?"

LITTLE: "What I simply was saying was at this time the reason we called a press conference is for the real fact that a lot of the people in the black community are not fully aware and are confused at this time really of what part did the firemen take in, when our office was burning. People are saying that firemen helped and they worked hand in glove with the policemen in moving very personal records and materials from this office and at this time people are saying that the firemen are just as guilty as the policemen for as having lost our personal records and materials."

"At this time all we ask the fire chief to make known to the people of the community that the fact is that maybe the firemen did not take the personal records and the fact is that the policemen took it and the people in the community are saying, we've talked to the people in the community every day, and they're saying that they will take the same stand against the firemen as they did against the police department. We're saying that maybe we could avoid it. There's no reason for people to have the same attitude toward the firemen here in Winston-Salem as they had the firemen in Alabama because the firemen here in Winston-Salem never did shoot a firehose on them. But this time the firemen have taken a stand against the black community by taking a stand against the people who are moving to give them the free breakfast program, the free clothing program, the free lunch program. So I'm saying at this time that we cannot insure the firemen anything at this time because they have failed, they're negligent in their responsibilities in letting the people of the community know really what went on at our office as far as to really try to destroy our machines and the confiscation of our personal records."

Reporter: "Do you believe that the people in the black community would fire on the firemen as they go to fight a housefire?"

LITTLE: "All I'm saying is, I can't say exactly what will happen. All I'm saying is that the people in the community want an explanation as to what went on. I'm not saying what could happen, that could possibly happen; I'm not saying that it will happen; I'm saying that anything can happen right now because our rights have been violated and the fact is that it seems to be working in conjunction, between the fire department and the police department in trying to pull the wool over the peoples' eyes as to what happened. So people never liked to be fed misinformation, they like for the information to be disseminated corrently. So, therefore, the firemen and police chief or fire chief, PAUL CRIM, is putting his firemen's lives on the line by simply refusing to make a statement with us as to what happened. He's putting his firemen's lives on the line, he is the one who's doing this, not us. It is he.

LARRY

LITTLE: "Right on. All power to the people.

"The first thing I'd like to say is I'd like to thank the people of the black community for their beautiful support of our brother JULIUS CORNELL, GRADY 'Papa Doc' FULLER, and myself. We'd like to say that we're really impressed by the support that the black community has given us and we'd like to thank the black people of the black community for coming out in overwhelming numbers today in the courtroom to show their support of the National Committee to Combat Fascism. We'd also like to say that we appreciate the fact that the people of the community have moved on a higher level and they understand we are simply the victims of a fascist frameup. We'd like for the people of the community to understand that we are not guilty of committing any crimes; in fact, we are not the criminals. In fact the criminals are the racist police forces and the racist gestapo or the racist judges or who sentenced us to jail, the criminals are the ones who own and control the means of production who are, see us as being a threat to what they want do do to oppressing our people.

"Like I say again, I want to say that we are really proud of the support we have from the black community, people from all walks of life come out to support us, they understand we are victims of a fascist frameup. We'd like to say that the fact that our bonds were reduced to \$1,000 doesn't show that there is any justice in the court, it simply means that there is injustice by the mere fact that the charges should have been dropped against us completely. The fact is they had no probable cause to bound us over. Our charges should have been dropped completely after the preliminary hearing but the judge being the racist that he is, the fact that the police department has pressed young brother WILLIE COLE, is the reason why we're out on bond and not out free today. *N.C.*

"We'd like to say that WILLIE COLE who testified against us today, we don't take any stand against him for the mere fact that we see him as being a victim of the racist minority ruling circus of America. We see that he was intimidated by the police department; the fact is that he did not have an attorney until about a minute before he came to court today showed that he was not really aware of his rights. The fact is that the judge moved to deny the motion that our attorney presented to let the people of the community come back in and witness the court trial

"showed that they themselves were really ashamed of the way they conducted that trial today or the preliminary hearing. The fact is that they had no evidence against us whatsoever.

"We'd also like to say that the police departments here are moving the same way as the police departments throughout the United States have been moving for the past four years on the Black Panther Party. The fact is that there is a national conspiracy to destroy the Black Panther Party and the fact is that the police department here in Winston-Salem, they are not successful in their attempt to vilify us and in their attempt to try to destroy our Party. They can never destroy the National Committee to Combat Fascism in Winston-Salem by the mere fact that we are not an organization for ourselves, we are an organization for our people.

"We'd also like to let it be known that 28 brothers, over 28 brothers, from the Black Panther Party have been murdered and the fact is that when the police department attacked our headquarters on 23rd Street last Tuesday, it was nothing but an attempt to try to murder our brother GRADY FULLER who was at the Panther house.

"We also want it to be known that the police department, they are not the upholders of the law. In fact we should really properly call them the Ku Klux Klan Squad for the mere fact that they are the ones who violated our rights, they broke into our office, they seized articles and items that were in our office and that were not specified in the warrant that they had. They are the real criminals and the fact that we are the freedom fighters and that's the reason why we are really in court today.

"We'd like to end everything by saying that this is not the end of the attempt to railroad black revolutionaries in this city and we'd like for the people in the community to continue to come forth and see that justice is carried out. Like I say, we had support from all segments of the black community, people who were former members of our organization came out to support us because they understand the power structure is trying to play it up as a big split they has developed between, in, our organization as a reason to come and ___ on us by the mere fact that we are nothing but criminals. We're not criminals. The fact is the criminals are police forces and the racist power structure here in Winston-Salem, they are the true criminals. Do you have any questions?"

Reporter: "Why didn't GRADY come out last week when he was asked?"

LITTLE: "The reason why brother GRADY FULLER didn't come out is because we relate to what we call 'historical materialism' and we see historically the way the police department has moved to try to mete out justice to members of the Black Panther Party. The fact is we had a brother FRED HAMPTON who was shot down in his bed while he was asleep. Little BOBBY HUTTON (phonetic) who came out of the house too early and was shot 17 times in his back. I'm very sure that this is the reason why brother FULLER did not come out of the house for the mere fact he wanted to wait as long as possible and he knew when shots were fired, people from the community would be present and could insure him his safety. The fact is he did not know at this time that there were a lot of people from the community who were outside witnessing this. This is proven by the fact that he did not shoot back the first time, he just laid on the floor and tried to keep from being murdered by the police department.

"The fact is that the police department lied about the whole thing and said that GRADY shot out of the house first. The real fact in court, it was brought out that they didn't even run a ballistics test to see whether the guns were fired because they knew themselves that the guns had not been fired. In fact the only shots that were fired on last Tuesday were shots that were, came from the guns of the racists or the Ku Klux Klan Squad which you call the police department."

Reporter: "What are you going to do about it?"

LITTLE: "The only thing, we'll take it to the people. Like our organization has always been out here, serving the people of the community. The only thing we say, we relate to self defense and we're just going to continue to organize the people, educate the people to the true nature of this decadent American society and the people will see that justice is carried out and not just to the local organizing Bureau of the Black Panther Party. We'll just take the issue to the people and let the people mete out justice to the ones who are guilty."

Reporter: "Police say that some of the materials taken out of the house on the 1100 block of 23rd Street were stolen. Whatabout this?"

LITTLE: "Well, the fact is that members of the National Committee to Combat Fascism, we haven't stolen anything. In fact the only things that were stolen out of the whole thing that happened last Tuesday was the fact that the police department stole \$500 out of the desk of our office. That was the only thing that was stolen. The fact is they tried also to associate heroin and marijuana with our organization. It's nothing but a very clear attempt to try to vilify us. Members of our organization have been out trying to keep people from the, keep people in the community off dope because we understand that drugs are simply are a symptom of the malignancy that is ravaging the social and moral fabric of this decadent American society.

"The fact is that no items were stolen. In fact if anything in there was stolen, the police department brought it there. The fact is the police department refused to let people of the black community come forth and watch as they took items from our office. The fact is they lied and said they got meat out of our office. They did not get any meat out of our office, they got it in the weeds behind the house where it was thrown for _____. The mere fact that it was brother SAUL was simply nothing but a fascist frameup from the very beginning. They are trying to associate everything that they know the people in the community are against with our organization and as I said before, it's nothing but an attempt to try to vilify us."

Reporter: "... COLE admitted being in the truck that brought the meat over."

LITTLE: "I don't have really a statement to make on that but I know that we don't take a stand against WILLIE COLE for the mere fact that we know he has been intimidated by the racist police department. He has been intimidated by JUSTUS TUCKER. He has been intimidated by all the military apparatus of the state government here. We understand that the brother has been under a lot of pressure. The fact is that since he is a juvenile, he should have been let, set free at the end of five days. The fact is that he is not even free today and it's seven days that have passed. And the fact is he did not even have an attorney to advise him of his rights before he came into the courtroom today. So you can understand from this that it's nothing but a fascist frameup. The man is young and the police department believed that they can crack him. Their overall goal is trying to imprison the leadership of the National Committee to Combat Fascism here in Winston-Salem; that's their overall goal and they'll use any means necessary to try to see that we're either imprisoned or in our graves."

Reporter: "You lost three headquarters now in Winston-Salem. Are you now going to consolidate everything here or what?"

LITTLE: "No, this is simply a community center right here. We will very possibly have a free daycare center for the people in the oppressed community here. And the fact is we're not going to become stagnated by the attempts of the police department to destroy us. The fact is we're going to intensify the struggle as our Minister of Information ELDRIDGE CLEAVER says that we must do. We're not going to curtail our activities. We're going to spread our activities throughout the black community, throughout Winston-Salem. In fact as I said before, we're not going to be confined to this community center right here. We're going to expand our activities. We understand that there is going to be an attempt to try to stop us and our extended activities because the police department doesn't want the voice of the truth to be heard by the people. And that's the real reason why I was in court and JULIUS CORNELL and GRADY FULLER were in court, for the mere fact that we speak _____ in the best interests of the poor oppressed people and as I said before, we're not going to confine our activities to this community center."

Reporter: "Could you be more specific with what you mean by your activities?"

LITTLE: "Our activities, or being specific, are the free breakfast for children program, the free clothing program, the free daycare center, a liberation schools to teach the youth of the black community, a community political education classes to educate the adults in the black community to the true nature of this decadent American society. Our activities will be in terms of organizing the sleeping black masses and educating them in the strategic methods of resisting this oppressive power structure. This will be our activities, serving the people and educating the people."

Reporter: "Where did the Winston-Salem police department fingerprint kit come from that they got over there?"

LITTLE: "Well, the only thing I can say is that we weren't around and the fact is that they probably brought it in there themselves. They're always doing things like that. The same way as the dope got there, the police department always probably have put it there. The fact is I don't know anything about a police fingerprint kit or the fact is I think they brought it there just trying to make everything look ridiculous. They can't even get their lies straight today."

Reporter: "Are GRADY FULLER and JULIUS CORNELL going to be out on bond? Have you gotten bonds for them yet?"

LITTLE: "We have people who are working to try to get these brothers out of jail. In fact we do expect them to be out of maximum security, we say maximum security, not out of jail, for the mere fact we see the entire black community as being in jail for the mere fact that you have a racist gestapo police department occupying our community the same way they occupied the oppressed peoples communities of Vietnam. Like I say, the brothers probably will be out today."

Reporter: "How come you got out first?"

LITTLE: "Well, it was the fact the neighborhood organization wanted it that way. I know the fact is that people in the black communities, the people of the black communities, put up the bond money for me and that's the reason why I'm out. It's the people of the black community who wanted it that way and that's the reason why I'm out today."

Reporter: "The ___ says that ROBERT SHOAF put the bond up, the Robert Shoaf Bonding Company. Did they give him the money, did the people in the black community give him the money?"

LITTLE: "From what I understand, the people of the black community did give the bonding company of ROBERT SHOAF the money to bail, get me out on bond today. This is to my understanding what really went down. We want to summarize everything by saying that the police department and the racist power structure here in Winston-Salem, throughout the United States and throughout the world, they can never be successful in trying to destroy us because our organization is not just an organization for ourselves, we're an organization for the people. We'd like to end by simply saying free BOSEY SEALE, the Chairman of the Black Panther Party; we'd like to say free JULIUS CORNELL, free GRADY FULLER, free all political prisoners. We'd like to say free black people and free the oppressed people of the world. Thank you. Power to the people. We have nothing else to say."

End.

CE 157-6171

II. ACTS IN FURTHERANCE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY
PROGRAM OR POLICIES

On [REDACTED] reported that two typewriters stolen from Atkins High School had been given to the Black Panther Party at 1802 East Fourteenth Street.

In addition, [REDACTED] reported that some individual, name not known, is reportedly attempting to obtain an M-60 (machine gun) for the Black Panther Party group in Winston-Salem.

On [REDACTED] reported receipt of information that the Black Panther Party houses on Fourteenth and Sixteenth Streets in Winston-Salem were fortified on the inside by sand bags up to window height and the side walls reinforced with concrete. There are gun slots in the windows and several rooms within the headquarters building are not generally accessible to all members.

On [REDACTED] reported that the Black Panther Party members at Winston-Salem were claiming the "pigs" had started the fire that had burned their headquarters. HAZEL BAKER and LARRY LITTLE were both active in the disruption at North Forsyth High School, that exact part was not mentioned.

On [REDACTED] reported that three rifles were observed at the front door at JAMES CRAWLEY's home at 1802 East Fourteenth Street.

On [REDACTED] reported that LARRY LITTLE had gone to Durham, North Carolina, where he contacted the President of the Student Body at Duke University and obtained \$250, which was then given to LITTLE's son for an appearance which she had said to give to the Young Peoples.

On [REDACTED] reported that at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, the statement had been made

that "COON" (JULIUS WHITE CORNFELL, JR.) was getting all of the "pieces" together to be kept upstairs in their headquarters. Not all of the members are allowed in the room where the guns will be kept.

On [REDACTED] reported that RANDY JENNINGS of the High Point, North Carolina, headquarters on Hulda Street, indicated the desire for a couple of banana clips for a .30 caliber carbine which he has at the house on Hulda Street. Observed at the Hulda Street house was a 30-06 rifle and a 16 gauge shotgun, in addition to the .30 caliber carbine.

On [REDACTED] reported that on January 4, 1971, it was learned that a guard is kept on duty at the Panther pad at 1386 Wilson Street, as well as 1616 East Twenty Third Street, both in Winston-Salem; and 612 Hulda Street in High Point.

On [REDACTED] reported that on January 5, 1971, NELSON VALLEY indicated the desire to buy 300 bags so they could fill them with sand and sandbag their headquarters in High Point, North Carolina, like the headquarters in Winston-Salem has been sandbagged.

[REDACTED]

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

6 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

105-165706-8-502 pages 123-128

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On [REDACTED] reported that from observation of the Black Panther Party Headquarters, 1127 East 23rd Street, it was noted that it was filled with Black Panther Party literature, posters, etc, but no weapons were seen except one .25 caliber pistol without a clip.

On [REDACTED] reported that approximately fifteen rifles and shotguns were observed in 1616 East 23rd Street. The windows are covered with screen to prevent gas from being thrown into the windows, and LARRY LITTLE said they were not going to surrender to the "Pigs" at this address as they had at the other place on 23rd Street. LITTLE is keeping six Panthers on guard at all times since they expect the "Pigs" to try to raid this house. LITTLE stated that the "Pigs" did not get any of the Panthers money at the other house (1127 East 23rd Street) on January 10, 1971, since it was not at the house at the time it was raided.

In discussions with the group from High Point, North Carolina, [REDACTED] noted that they have said they do not intend to be evicted and have a shotgun and rifle in the house.

On February 9, 1971, [REDACTED] Guilford County Sheriff's Office, High Point, North Carolina, advised that during the past week eviction of the Black Panther Party (BPP) Headquarters, 612 Hulda Street, High Point, North Carolina, was ordered by Mendenhall - Moore Realtors as the house had been rented under false pretense with the claim it was to be occupied by a family. Eviction proceedings were undertaken after a court magistrate notice was given several weeks ago and the local authorities waited a mandatory 72 hour notice period before undertaking the eviction. The required cash bond was not posted to provide a legal delay until the case could be heard.

[REDACTED] further stated that eviction would take place 7:00 A. M., February 10, 1971, by employees of the local Sheriff's Office and Police Department.

On February 10, 1971, [REDACTED] Police Department, High Point, North Carolina, advised that at approximately 6:30 A. M., that date some 35 to 40 officers of the police department and sheriff's office surrounded the BPP house at 612 Hulda Street. Chief of Police LAURIE PRITCHETT accompanied by Deputy Sheriffs LARRY LINTHICUM and Lieutenant G. A. ARRINGTON, Guilford County Sheriff's Office, walked on the porch and spoke to the occupants through the closed door advising of their presence for the purpose of the execution of the eviction notice issued by a magistrate at the request of the real estate agency. Action was on behalf of the owner District Judge BYRON HAWORTH. One of the parties inside indicated he had nothing to say.

After being told under the public address bull horn that the occupants had ten minutes to evacuate, DIANE MOCK, Negro female, age 19, emerged. With no response from the rest of the occupants tear gas was fired into a window. Gun shots then erupted from the house resulting in the critical wounding of Lieutenant SHAW COOKE, Police Department, High Point, North Carolina, a white officer, who was struck in the chest by a

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.30 caliber bullet. Officers GEORGE E. MC DOWELL and TOMMY BRYAND were also struck by bullets but uninjured as both were wearing a flak vest.

Following shots fired by the officers into the house, the following Negro males emerged therefrom: LARRY MEDLEY, age 16, RANDOLPH JENNINGS, age 17, GEORGE DEWITT, age 17, and BRADFORD LILLEY, age 19.

N.Y. FILED
1954

MEDLEY encountered a bullet wound which chipped a bone in his shoulder and was admitted to the High Point Memorial Hospital under guard.

In addition to furnishings and documents, the following items were found in the house and submitted to the FBI Laboratory for examination:

- One 12 guage shotgun (pump)
- One M-1 rifle
- One 30-30 rifle with telescopic site
- Several boxes of ammunition

MOCK was charged with disturbing the peace while the remainder were charged with conspiracy to commit murder and a \$50,000 bond each was set.

On February 10, 1971, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that during the week BUDDY TIEGER, a Charlotte attorney who specializes in Civil Rights cases and another unidentified attorney in his firm were on the scene taking photographs and interviewing persons.

[REDACTED] further asserted that LARRY LITTLE, a BPP member, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, subsequently appeared on the scene with several other Negroes from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and also engaged in picture taking and talking with Negroes in the area.

██████████ said that about twenty Negro children were removed from the Hulda Street house around midnight before the confrontation as well as other weapons. Around 4:00 P. M., February 10, 1971, he stated a leaflet appeared on the street in the Negro areas, claiming the Black community information center was attacked by the "High Point Pig Department" and that above listed subject had been kidnapped. The leaflet concluded with a request, "Ransom Money Needed Now," and to contact occupants of 612 Hulda Street, which, however, is closed and boarded up.

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[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] the Black Panther Party group in
Winston-Salem, [REDACTED] has observed that they keep from eight
to twelve rifles or shotguns, however, at no time did [REDACTED]
observe any automatic weapons, hand grenades, or dynamite.

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III. TEACHING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] the group at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, held a political education class each Sunday with some twenty to thirty persons present. This was primarily a political discussion group speaking of liberation, liberalism, and the student of Black Panther Party literature.

[REDACTED] noted that LARRY LITTLE led a group of [REDACTED] in hand to hand combat training in front of the headquarters. LITTLE seemed to know what he was doing, noting that he has been to California where he claimed he had been taught. LITTLE made the statement that Winston-Salem continues to be the main headquarters, although there is a group operating at High Point, North Carolina.

[REDACTED] reported that a political education class was held at [REDACTED] from [REDACTED] with [REDACTED] inattendance. During the meeting, the group studied the "Redbook" concerning how Mao overthrew the Government of China and also studied the Black Panther Party rules and regulations.

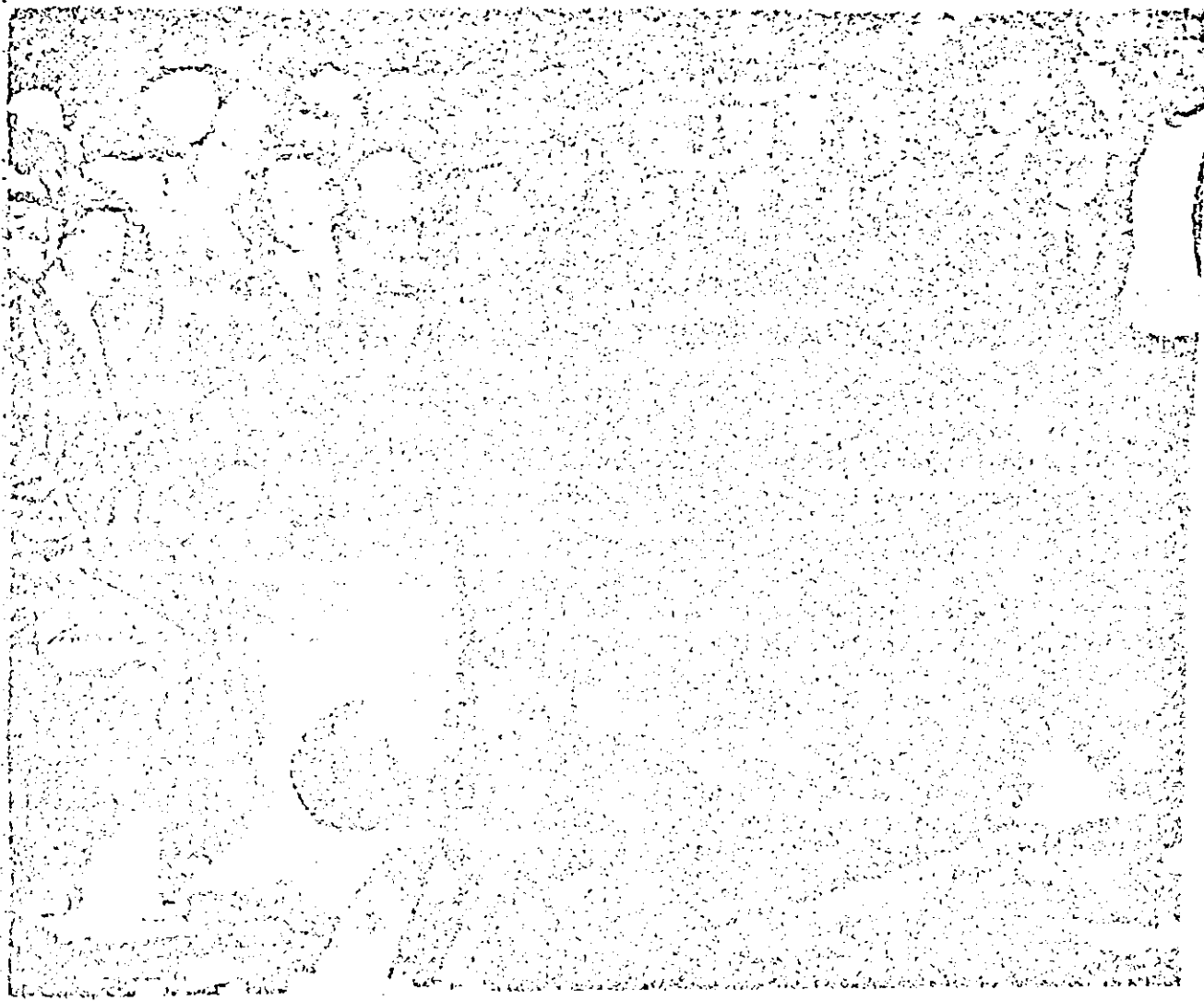
CE 157-6171

IV. DOCUMENTS URGING THE REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM

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On October 29, 1970, [REDACTED] made available the following poster advertising the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention at Washington, D. C.

REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL Convention Washington, D.C. November 6-10



Where is Freedom when a peoples right to "Freedom of Speech" is denied to the point of murder?
When attempts at "Freedom of the Press" brings tombstones and lynchings?

Where is Freedom when the right to "peacefully assemble" brings on massacres? Where is our
right to "keep and bear arms" when Black People are attacked by the Racist Goats of America?
Where is "religious freedom" when places of worship become the scene of shoot-ing and bomb-ing?
Where is the right to vote "regardless of race or color" when murder takes place at the voting
polls? Are we free when we are not even secure from being savagely murdered in our sleep by police-
men who stand blatantly before the world but yet go unpunished? Is that "equal protection of the
laws"? The empty promise of the Constitution to "establish Justice" has exposed to the world by
the reality of Black Peoples' existence. For 400 years now, Black People have suffered an unbroken
chain of abuse at the hands of White America. For 400 years we have been treated as America's
foot-stool. This fact is so clear that it requires no argumentation.

[REDACTED] reported that on [REDACTED] literature available at the National Committee to Combat Fascism headquarters on East Twenty Third Street, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, included booklets on "The Genius of Huey P. Newton", "The Ideology of the Black Panther Party", and "Education and Revolution". In addition, the November 28 and December 5 copies of the Black Panther newspaper were available.

On December 9, 1970, and December 14, 1970, [REDACTED] made available copies of the following pamphlets:

WHITE RACIST ATTACK HUSBAND AND WIFE

In a trailer camp, on Old Greenboro Rd. there are about five trailers the occupants are both Blacks and Whites. As one white man stated, "We have no trouble until outsiders come in". This proved to be true on Sunday, Nov. 29, when a racist fool attacked Mrs. Lillie Lawson because she was talking to a white neighbor. After Mrs. Lawson got into her house this same white racist went and got his shot gun, tore down the Lawson's door and beat Mr. Lawson in the head while he ran to the door to protect his home. He shot at a guest of the Lawsons when he said he was going to get the police.

When the pigs did come they only cited the racist, Winky Diggins, to court. We well know and understand that the Winston-Salem Police Department is also racist. If this had been a Black that attacked a white he would have been put in jail and given a bond or held until time for court. Instead, by letting this fool back out on the streets they allow him another chance to attack other blacks simply because they are Black. Therefore the pigs only work hand in hand with the racist.

We urge everyone to come to court Dec. 11 to support Mr. and Mrs. Lawson even though we know that there is no justice in the courts for poor people in general and Black People in particular.

FIGHT RACISM WITH RACIAL SOLIDARITY
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
N.C.C.F. 1616 E. 23rd St. Winston-Salem

UNIVERSITY POLITICAL EDUCATION CLASSES

EVERY TUES. NIGHT AT 7:30

The National Committee to Combat Racism is inviting people from the community to Political Educational Classes. The purpose of the classes is to inform the people what the BLACK PANTHER PARTY is all about. But more important, they will learn what the struggle of Black people is all about in our present society; what role we as poor people in general and Black people in particular play in this society.

We learn the true nature of America; along with the true history of Black people. We educate each other as to how we can take that history and learn from it in this day making us more able as to how we should deal with our problems of being POLITICALLY OPPRESSED, ECONOMICALLY EXPLOITED, AND SOCIALLY DEGRADED.

ADD POWER TO THE PEOPLE
NATIONAL OFFICE D.C.O.P.
1616 S. 23RD STREET

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On December 15, 1970, [REDACTED]
supra, furnished the following leaflet, noting that the Black
Panther Party group runs off copies from masters which they
have produced by a private company.

SURVIVAL THROUGH SERVICE TO THE PEOPLE FREE BREAKFAST FOR

CHILDREN

Throughout the 400 year struggle by the embattled Black Communities here in Babylon, many different tactics have been used to achieve the same result--the salvation, liberation and freedom of our people. Out of all this, the blood shed and the lives lost and the wisdom gained by our people through our struggle to survive, has developed the ideology of the Black Panther Party. This ideology is not an abstract thing to be read and studied and then forgotten; it is a concrete plan in which the result will be long sought after freedom.

The Black Panther Party Free Breakfast Program for School Children takes this wisdom gained, this ideology and puts it into practice. Like all programs started by the Black Panther Party, the Free Breakfast Program is a Panther-community action program, which points out a contradiction in this decadent capitalistic society and then solves that problem by providing a socialistic alternative. The correct method of dealing with problem of hunger here in Babylon, is to have the Black Community core together and provide for itself in a communal manner.

The Black Panther Party Breakfast Program is a survival program it puts theory into practice, that is why we have implemented the Free Breakfast Program everyday MON-FRI. at 7:30 a.m.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM

1616 E. 25th Street

and

1576 Wilson Street

Winston-Salem, N.C.

"THE WORLD IS YOURS, AS
WELL AS OURS,

BUT IN THE LAST ANALYSIS,

IT IS YOURS. YOU YOUNG PEOPLE,

FULL OF VIGOR AND VITALITY, ARE

IN THE BLOOM OF LIFE,

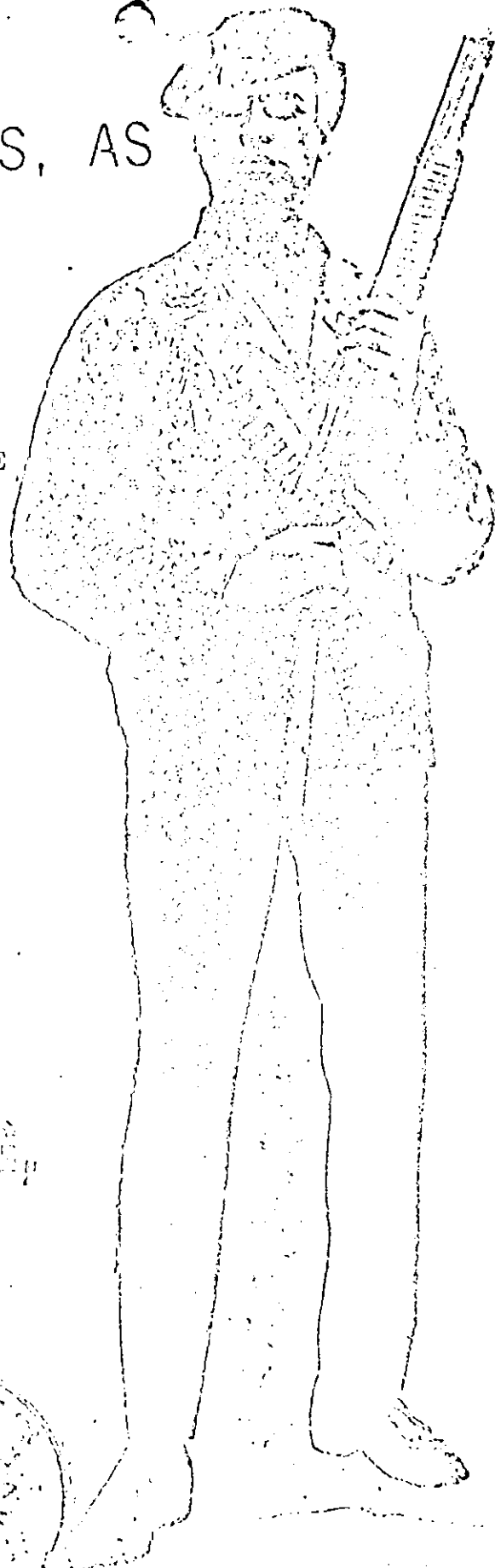
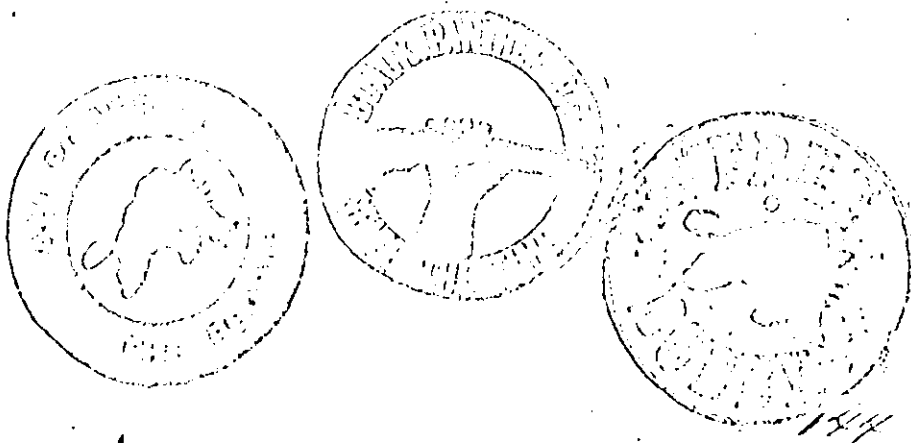
LIKE THE SUN AT EIGHT OR NINE

IN THE MORNING.

OUR HOPE IS PLACED
ON YOU."

EVERY SAT. MORNING,

12:30 - 2:00



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The following leaflets were furnished by [REDACTED] which
[REDACTED] were passed out in the High Point area prior to December 24,
1970:

BLACK COMMUNITY INFORMATION CENTER

HIGH POINT, N.C. OPEN DEC. 25 at 4:00

So let it be heard December 25th 1970 will be a very important day in High Point N.C., for this is the day that the racist Power structure in High Point and the Racist avaricious Santa Claus will be greeted with a bang. For years and years and years which have now added up to 400 years black people throughout Babylon have been suffering from poverty under a racist capitalistic government that gets joy out of seeing people suffer. Black people have prayed, begged, and demonstrated for an immediate end to the inhuman injustices that were inflicted upon us. Indecent housing conditions malnutrition, inadequate medical care, unemployment, racial oppression, capitalist exploitation, social degradation. All these describe the Black Community of High Point N.C. as well as all the Black Communities throughout racist Amerikkka. Now is the time for us to move in a unified manner to correct these injustices all over this racist country.

OPEN HOUSE

SPEAKERS: Larry Little

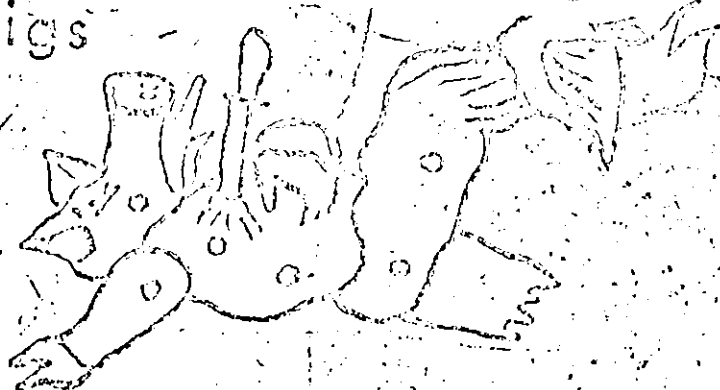
Ed McQueen

FILMS: interview with chairman Bobby

off the pigs

TAPES:

on Eldridge Cleaver



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OPEN HOUSE

SPEAKERS: Larry Little

Ed McQueen

FILMS: interview with chairman Bobby
off the pigs

TAPES:
on Eldridge Cleaver



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WHAT WE WANT

THE TEN POINT PROGRAM AND PLATFORM

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.
2. We want full employment for our people.
3. We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of the Black Community.
4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.
5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.
6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.
7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.
8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county, and city prisons and jails.
9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their Black Communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.
10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

[REDACTED] reported that leaflets had been passed out at High Point, North Carolina, about a demonstration January 8, 1971, at the courthouse in High Point. These were actually printed at the Black Panther Party headquarters in Winston-Salem.

On [REDACTED] furnished the following, which were obtained from Black Panther Party headquarters in Winston-Salem:



JOE

DELL



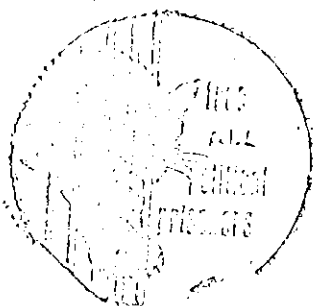
is being framed in High Point for Armed Robbery. We know that it is a common thing for Black People to be framed in court and to make time for something they didn't do. From the out set we don't receive a fair trial because we aren't tried by our peer group. We are tried by white middle class people who know nothing about the type of life the average Black man lives. So we know in advance that Joe Dell like so many other Blacks will be found guilty regardless. He will be found guilty unless the people let the pigs of High Point know that we aren't going to stand by and see our people railroaded off to jail any more. Support Joe Dell in court Fri. Jan. 8, at 9:00 am.

FRAME - UP

IGS

V.S. PEOPLE'S

SERVANT



NATIONAL COMMITTEE
TO COMBAT FASCISM
1616 E. 23rd St.
Winston-Salem

BLACK COMMUNITY
INFORMATION CENTER
612 Joe Dell Ave. (formerly HULDA ST.)

848



MASTRO DESIGN
P.O. BOX 2507, CUSTON HOUSE
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94126

QUOTATION
AND

DESIGN BY:
Signature
MINISTER OF CULTURE, BLACK PANTHER PARTY

© Kenneth Streetly, Incorporated
Productions Incorporated

ALL THE WEAPONS WE USED AGAINST
EACH OTHER WE NOW USE AGAINST THE OPPRESSOR



BY ALL MEANS AVAILABLE

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION,
P.O. BOX 2937, CUSTOM HOUSE
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94126

QUOTATION

EMORY BOOGLAS

BLACK PANTHER PARTY PLATFORM &
PROGRAM, POINT NO. 2

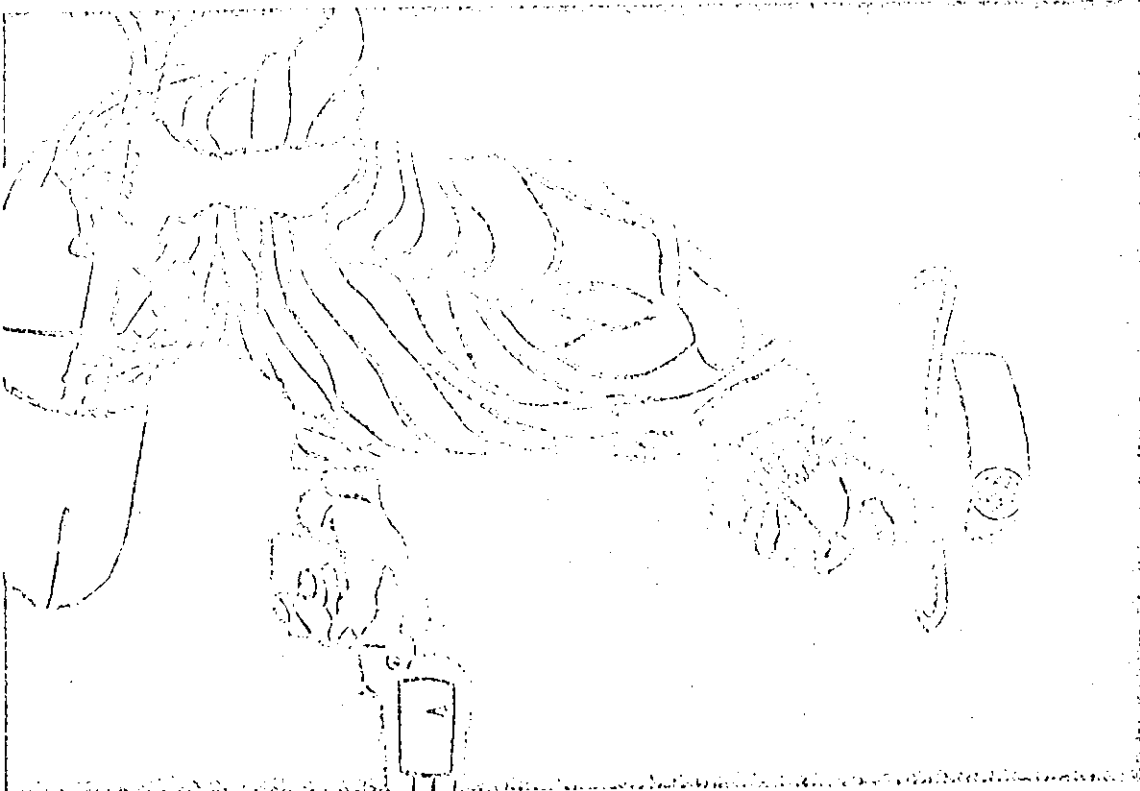
DESIGN BY:

Emory

MINISTER OF CULTURE, BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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Productions Incorporated

I'VE BEEN FORCED TO WORK ALL MY LIFE PICKING COTTON, DIGGING CANALS, MAKING SHOES,
GROWING OTHER PEOPLE'S FOOD. ALL THIS AND MORE I WAS FORCED TO DO FOR SLAVE
MASTERS. BUT THOSE DAYS ARE LONG GONE AND NOW I DEMAND EQUALITY, JUSTICE AND PEACE



WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE

13

EXERCISES

500

11

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Productions Incorporated

A high-contrast, black and white line drawing of a person's face, heavily stylized with thick, expressive lines. The person has long, dark hair and is wearing a headband or bandana. The drawing is framed by a thick, irregular border.

[illegible]

On [REDACTED] made available a copy of a pamphlet "Miv: Manual of the Urban Guerrilla", by CARLOS MARTIGHELLA, which was obtained January 8, 1971, at University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, following a speech of ZAID SHAKUR.

The following are articles which appeared in the Black Panther newspaper pertaining to North Carolina:

WHITE RACIST ATTACK HUSBAND AND WIFE

ed a White he (the Black) would have been put in jail and given a bond or held until time for court. Instead, by letting this fool stay on the street they allowed him another chance to attack other Blacks simply because they are Black. Therefore, the pigs only work hand in hand with the racists.

We urge everyone to support Mr. and Mrs. Lawson even though we know there is no justice in the courts for poor people in general and Black people in particular; but this will serve as another example for the people to see the unjust tactics of Winston-Salem courts.

Mr. & Mrs. Lawson

FIGHT RACISM WITH RACIAL
SOLIDARITY!

In a trailer camp, on Old Greenboro Road there are about five trailers. The occupants are both Blacks and Whites. As one white man stated, "We have no trouble with outsiders come in." This proved to be true on Sunday, November 29, when a racist fool attacked Mrs. Lillie Lawson because she was talking to a white neighbor. After Mrs. Lawson got into her house the same white racist went and got his shotgun, tore down the Lawson's door and beat Mr. Lawson in the head when he ran to the door to protect his home. He shot at a guest of the Lawson's when he said he was going to get the police.

When the pigs did come they only cited the racist, Winky Degins, to court. We well know and understand that the Winston-Salem Police Department is also racist. If this had been a Black that attack-

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

N.C.C.F.

1615 E. 23rd. Street
Winston-Salem, N.C.



CHILDREN BRUTALIZED BY RACIST PRINCIPAL IN WINSTON SALEM, N.C.

Racist principal Jackson at Jamestown Elementary School in Winston-Salem, N.C. brutalized Black students for not having done their homework. One little brother, the name of Arthur Baldwin was beaten very severely by this pig and had to be taken to the doctor. The doctor confirmed that the child was beaten severely and had marks and bruises on his back.

There were several other students that were also beaten by pig Jackson. All together there were seven kids that were victims of his fascist tactics, 5 Black, and 2 White. He stated before he started beating them that he would give the Whites three licks and the Blacks six licks. Having them to stand at an angle by touching their toes, he began to beat them. Arthur Baldwin's aunt took out a warrant for assault with a deadly weapon which was a paddle.

This case was taken to court on December 1. In the courtroom Lawyer Samuel Chess presented his case against Jackson. Jackson's lawyer couldn't disagree with the charges, so instead all he did was plead guilty to the judge. Judge Byron Hayworth, who is also a racist pig told the lawyers that the teachers or principals had the right to beat a child, but with reasonable force, or the force that is necessary to make a student go in the right manner or way.

The case was then dismissed, and these children did not get equal justice in court. This shows you that Black people have no rights that the racist pigs are bound to respect. In conclusion, if the courts don't give justice to the people, then the people must rise and give justice to the courts by any means necessary, as defined by the

Declaration of Independence,
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
DEATH TO THE RACIST PIGS!
Larry Medley
George Dewitt
High Point Winston-Salem, N.C.



PIGS BURN WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.

NCCF OFFICE IN AN ATTEMPT TO SABOTAGE THE R.P.C.C.

In a further attempt to prevent the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention from taking place, the fascist pigs moved against the NCCF and the people of Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

On November 27, approximately 60 members of the NCCF and the community left Winston-Salem at noon on their way to Washington, D.C. They were traveling in a hired truck and three cars. Soon after they started on their journey the truck developed mechanical problems. At Henderson, North Carolina at 4 p.m. they were forced to pull off the road and as they did this the front tire of the truck fell off. On investigation, knife marks were found on the tire and the people of the community confirmed that unknown persons were seen around the truck prior to the commencement of the journey.

At 5 p.m. they telephoned Winston-Salem and were informed that the NCCF headquarters had been burnt down. A member of the NCCF reported that he was in the front office when he smelt smoke. He went to the back and saw a blaze which he tried to put out but was unsuccessful. Eyewitness reports state that something had been thrown into the office.

The Fire Department arrived and instead of trying to stop the fire, confiscated files and other supplies. They would have taken everything if they had not been prevented by the people of the community who had converged on the office.

On receiving this information, the people who were stranded in Henderson left the truck and con-

tacted E. Whitmore Inc. to have it repaired. The truck was towed away but left on the road by E. Whitmore, Inc. who stated that it could not be repaired. The FBI, state and local pigs converged on the truck, first informing the occupants that the NCCF in Winston-Salem had been destroyed and then proceeded in their usual brutal manner to conduct a search for weapons.

The people then contacted Herz in Greensboro to see if this company would repair the truck. Herz informed them that they had been contacted by the FBI who told them they were not to repair the truck. The people themselves repaired the truck and were able to leave at 4 a.m. on their way to the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention.

It is obvious that this was a planned attempt by the fascist pigs to prevent the people of Winston-Salem from participating in the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention.

We call upon the oppressed peoples of our Communities under siege here in Babylon to liberate our community in Washington D.C. in order that the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention might take place. We call for mobilization for survival until we are able to join the other peoples of the world who have liberated their communities and go forward to implement inter-communalism.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

November 29, 1970

CE 157-6171

On January 21, 1971

[REDACTED] provided
the following copies of documents he had obtained as being
passed out in Winston-Salem:

live behind the invisible bars of slavery
and oppression from day to day;

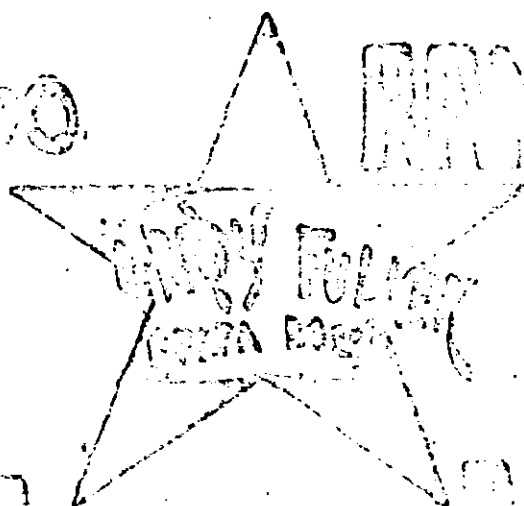
But, by IMPRISONING these REVOLUTIONARIES,

behind the steel bars of fascism,
these murderous pigs have imprisoned some of
the best that humanity possesses...

KIDNAPPED!!!

\$7,000

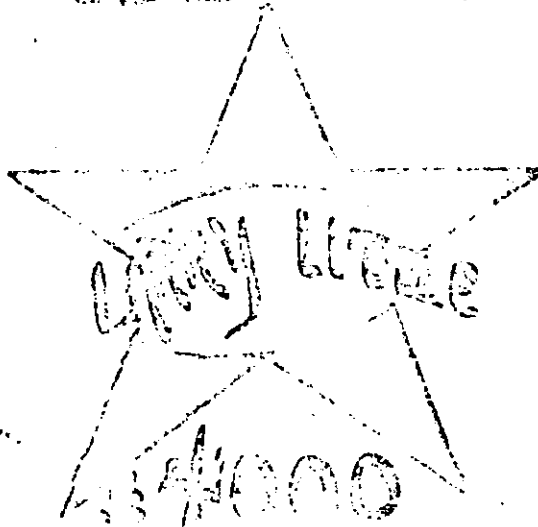
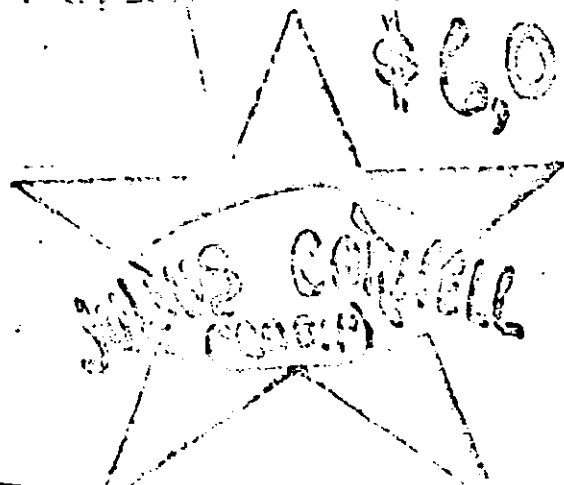
RAISEDM--



RAISEDM--

RAISEDM--

\$6,000



FREE LARRY LITTLE!!!
FREE JULIUS CORNELL!!!
FREE GRADY FULLER!!!

PRISONERS OF WAR

These recent and vicious attacks against the local organizing bureaus of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY here in Winston-Salem, are suppose to stop us from serving the people, and educating them to the reality of this corrupt system and the correct methods to use in destroying it. This proves that for all of this country's shouts of "liberty and justice for all", all that it's people can hear is "BRUTALITY : with FREEDOM FOR NONE!" This is Amerikkka, without its sugar-coating, this is

FASCISM--AMERICAN STYLE

These three brothers have not been held captives and unjustly imprisoned because they are lawbreakers, or because they were suppose to have been involved in "larceny of meat",

THESE BROTHERS HAVE BEEN FRAMED by the racist pigs of the FBI in alliance with Chief Pig Tucker and his watch dogs, because they have dared to step forward and speak up for what is right, and in the best interests of the people!

FRIDAY, JAN. 22, 1971

These servants of the people are to go before the "Courts of Injustice" for crimes that they were not involved in, and that were committed by the PIG DEPARTMENT, of Winston-Salem, in order to justify their KIDNAPPING OF THESE REVOLUTIONARY BROTHERS.

WE ASK THE PEOPLE OF THE COMMUNITIES OF WINSTON-SALEM, in particular to come to the courthouse on this day to witness just one of the "legal lynchings" that occur "hourly" of each and every day.

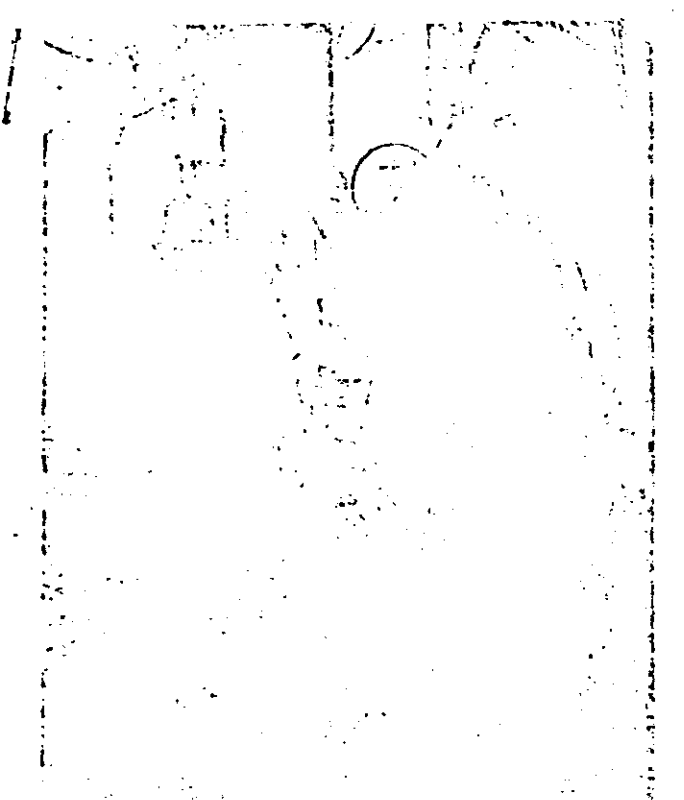
159

And so, we want the people to prove that their "spirit", and sincerity to our cause, will survive.

ATTACK ON BLACK COMMUNITY INFORMATION CENTER, HIGH POINT, N.C.

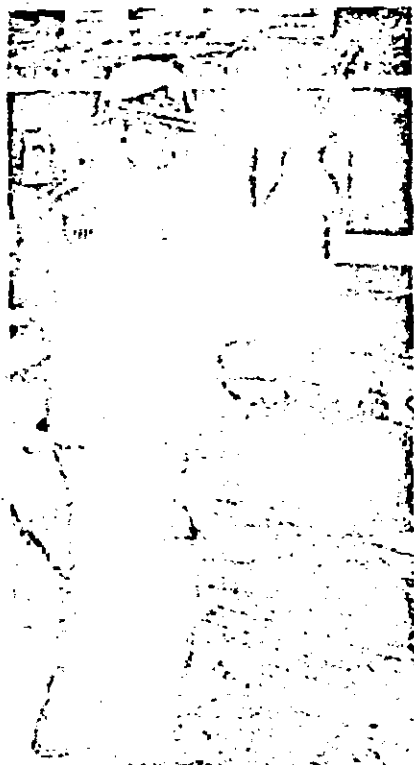
On February 10, 1971, on or about 6:00 a.m., the Police Department High Point, North Carolina, attack the Black Community Information Center located at 612 Hulda Street. The attack and invasion led by the police within the Black community is comparable to the fashion utilized by the armed forces of the United States Government in the invasion of communities throughout the world. (Southeast Asia, Africa etc.)

They came at a time when the majority of the people in the community were asleep; therefore, observation of the community could not be made.



Pigs milling around after ramp of

Black Community Information Center



Pig with 12 gauge pump
shot gun in front of
Winston - Salem N.C.C.F.



Pigs still milling around. Note supposedly
bullet proof vest.

reason that the attack was made in this manner, simply stated, was that the power structure of High Point does not want anyone to assist in the elimination of the wretched conditions of their environment. The brothers and sisters who worked out of the Community Center had instituted a Free Breakfast Program that served 30 children each morning at the beginning of the program. Since the launching of the project, the number of children has increased to fifty (50) per day. On Saturday, February 13, 1971, a Free Clothing Program was to be sponsored by the brothers and sisters as a result of a clothing

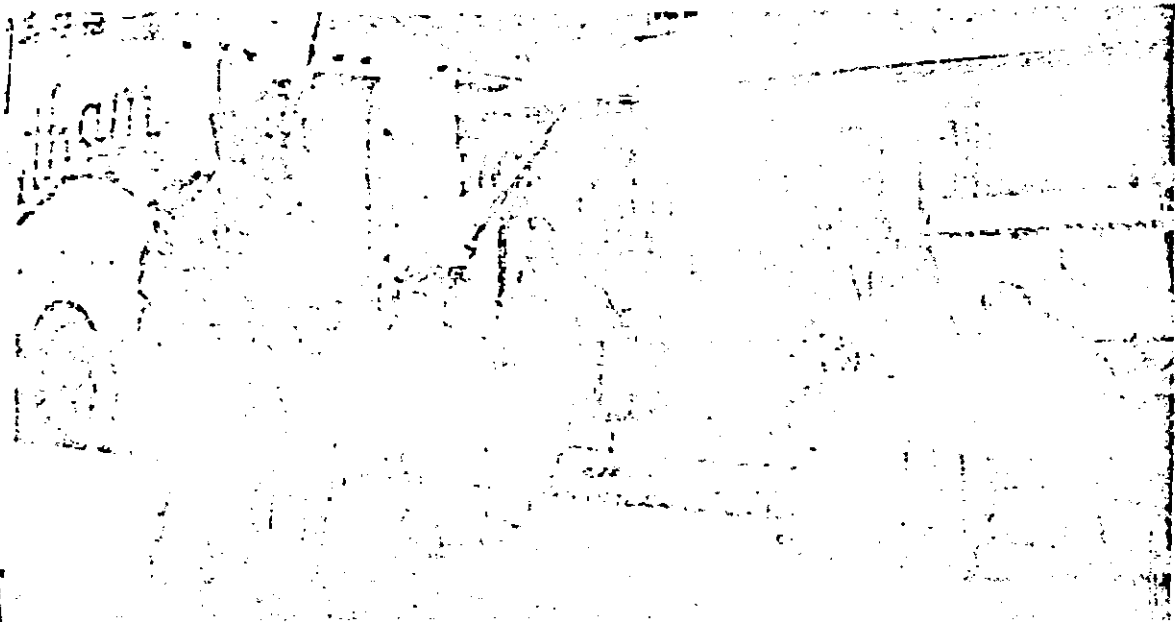
collection drive by them.

This attack by no means will halt our efforts to serve the people of High Point. In fact, this barbarian attack by the Police Department only serves to strengthen us and make us more determined to serve the people. Our Free Breakfast Program will be implemented again in the next few days and we will continue our programs to survive until the people put an end to this madness.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
High Point, North Carolina
Black Community Information Center

FASCIST REPRESSION

BREEDING IN THE SOUTH



Pigs attacking Winston-Salem N.C.C.F.

As the revolutionary fervor of the oppressed people throughout the communities of the world reaches higher plateaus, the pigs, armed tenacles of the state seek to smash and crush this transformation. This transformation can be defined as the once down-trodden, wretched of the earth, slowly getting to their feet and casting off all yokes of oppression and dealing a final death blow to their oppressor. The last stage of the transformation has not taken place but one can see that it is near because the reactionary forces of the North American Empire are engaging in some of the most hideous, barbarous crimes against humanity that have ever been known or conceived by mankind as they wage their last desperate stand.

It is a known fact that "repression breeds resistance". So, as the pigs move to suppress the people, the people are in turn moving to put an end to this reactionary violence with revolutionary violence. What occurs then, is that you will have a collision, a contradiction, a meeting of two opposite forces. As a result of this collision there is bound to be a resulting transformation. This transformation can be defined as moving from reactionary intercommunalism to revolutionary intercommunalism, the latter of which will be the creation of a society where all men can be free and productive in the most creative fashion that human knowledge, wisdom, and technology can afford them.

But in order for the transformation to take place, something must occur in between; and in between we find a struggle. This struggle is waged furiously, because it is a matter of life and death, of survival. If the masses win the struggle, then they will have life and the pigs death. Since we believe that the people will be victorious in their struggle for freedom, we have to guarantee the people survival. We of the National Committee to Combat Fascism of Winston-Salem understand, along with the Black Panther Party, and believe that the way to insure that the people survive is through the implementation of survival programs. Survival programs for the people insure that the people

get the things necessary to keep them living: correct (revolutionary) education, food, clothing, medical attention, shelter. These are the things necessary for anyone to live and it is these things we as people's servants give to the oppressed people of the Black Community with our Free Breakfast Program, Free Clothing Program, Free Medical Center, Community Political Education Classes, etc.

Since the ruling class and its pigs want to destroy the people and we want to guarantee their survival it is only natural that a contradiction would arise; it is only natural that conflicts would occur and heighten to the point where conditions would be ripe for total transformation.

In Winston-Salem, North Carolina and High Point, N.C., these conflicts have occurred with a regularity, as the power structure and their pigs attempt to intimidate, jail, and murder those who would stand between them and the people. Ever since the N.C.C.F. was started in Winston-Salem, the brothers and sisters have been under constant

harassment from the local pigs who are nothing more than the KU KLUX KLAN (the Police Chief of High Point is Laurie Prichett. Prichett is the same pig who, during the height of the Civil Rights Struggle, as Pig Chief in Albany Georgia used to sic dogs and firemen with hoses upon innocent civil rights demonstrators. At that time he admitted to being an official member of the KU KLUX KLAN.). This harassment took in many forms: arrest for selling papers without a permit, blocking the sidewalk, blowing car horns, and a host of other things. The pigs having seen that this tactic would not work, increased their repression and moved to a higher level of fasc-

cism, railroaded brothers off to jail on trumped up charges for 15 to 20 years.

On Nov. 27, 1970, the pigs along with the Winston-Salem fire pigs, firebombed our N.C.C.F. headquarters on 14th and Jackson Ave and completely destroyed the building. They were under the impression that without a building we could no longer serve the People through our survival programs. Along

with the attempt to destroy our headquarters, the pigs attempted to murder N.C.C.F. members and about 60 people from the community on their way to the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention. They loosened the bolts on one of the wheels of the truck, so that it would fall off after the people had ridden for a while. After the N.C.C.F. members and the people were on their way and had gone about 100 miles down the highway, the wheel came off the front of the truck. Fortunately no one was hurt.

In the month of January, the pigs vamped on two of our N.C.C.F. headquarters, in consecutive weeks. The first vamp was set up by the pigs with the aid of a pig agent. The pig agent drove a meat truck up to the front of our headquarters, at 1127 23rd Street, and gave a couple of boxes of meat to a brother, Grady Fuller, who was in the office, for the Free Breakfast Program. Immediately after giving the meat, the agent left the truck and ran. Within seconds the pigs (over 100) and the government-controlled news media arrived wanting to enter our office, under the pretense of looking for "stolen" meat. At the time of the vamp there was only one N.C.C.F. member in the office, along with a young 15 year old brother from the community. When the pigs were refused en-

trance to our office, they began shooting in teardrops and then bullets from riot-pump shotguns and automatic weapons. They had attempted to murder the brothers, but they failed. Therefore they charged the brother from the N.C.C.F. with larceny of the meat truck and assault on the pigs.

Exactly one week later the pigs arrived at another house that we were using as a Day Care Center, at 1615 E. 23rd Street. We had our Free Breakfast Program, Free Clothing Program, and Community Education Classes also in this house. The pigs realized that with these programs being implemented that they were being pushed deeper and deeper into the pit of death.

to the pigs moved to persuade the racist slumlord to issue eviction papers to us. We could not have a place of our programs. When the pigs came they were 150 to 200 in number, armed with every thinkable weapon of death and destruction. They completely sealed off the community, hid behind the people's houses, and when they felt the time right, moved on the Center, throwing all the contents out into the streets. At that time they arrested Julius Cornell and Larry Little on charges of accessory after the fact (relating back a week to the meat truck frame-up). Julius was arrested at the Center on 23rd during the eviction, and Larry, in the den of fascism, the courtroom, while attending the preliminary hearing of a member of the N.C.C.F.

On Feb. 5, 1971, the repression continued with the arrest of Larry Little once again on trumped-up charges of carrying a concealed weapon and the issuing of another eviction notice to vacate our office at 1376-78 Wilson St. This is the headquarters in which we now have our Free Breakfast Program, Free Clothing Program, Liberation School, and Political Education Classes.

Julius Cornell, Grady Fuller, and Larry Little have been released from captivity, because the people were able to raise the ransom they were being held under. Julius, Grady, and Larry must return to the fascist courts on March 1, 1971 to stand trial on the trumped-up charges on which they were arrested.

On Dec. 25, 1970, brothers and sisters in High Point, N.C. opened a Black Community Information Center at 612 Hulla Street. The brothers and sisters had done a lot of work on the house to get it ready for the opening day.

The house had been freshly painted inside and out, the floors painted, and broken windows repaired. They did this with their own money, because the racist slumlord realtors, Mendenhall-Moore, refused to do anything to the house. All they were interested in was being able to collect the rent. On the opening day the brothers and sisters explained to a gathering of over 250 people from the community that they intended to work in the best in-

terest of the Black Community of High Point. Because the response of the people in the community was so great, the pigs of the power structure began proceedings to have the brothers and sisters evicted from the

Information Center. The eviction notice came three days after the opening day, Dec. 28th, telling them to be out by Jan. 28, 1971.

The brothers and sisters realized what the pigs were doing so they went ahead with the implementing of a Free Breakfast for Children Program. The Program started out with the feeding of 20 children and rose to 50 children every morning before school. A Liberation School was started and a Free Clothing Program about to begin.

After going before a mad-dog magistrate and the eviction being upheld, the brothers and sisters had an attorney to file notice of appeal. The appeal never got to court, because the racist minority ruling circle along with the KU KLUX KLAN, had intimidated the bondsman to the point where he would not sound the appeal bond. This bondsman happens to be the only bondsman in High Point. We must also make note of the fact that his skin is black. His name is Raymond Parker, and through intimidation from the pigs, this man was coerced to the point that he ceased to be a man. Forrest "Maceo" White, another black-skinned man, who had worked a little with the brothers and sisters in High Point and had rented the house, was also intimidated to the point where he lost his manhood and dignity. It was a racist White who could sign the papers for the appeal bond, but did not. So he must also be indicted along with everyone else.

With the eviction being upheld and the notice of appeal unable to be filed, the ten days ran out, in which time the appeal bond was supposed to have been put up. On the tenth day, 5:00 a.m., the pigs began to surround the Information Center in High Point because they knew everyone would be asleep. After about

100 or more pigs, the KU KLUX KLAN in disguise, surrounded the Center, they began shooting tear gas canisters into the house. Most of the canisters failed to go through the windows of the office and fell back into

the streets, blinding and choking the pigs. Being irritated by their own tear gas, one of the pigs gave an order for his fellow pigs to start shooting. The gun fire lasted for ten minutes. After it was over, one brother had been wounded in the shoulder, and the pigs say one pig was wounded.

George Dewitt, Randy Jennings, Bradford Lilly and Larry Medley, who was wounded, came out of the office. They were taken down to the pig pen, forced to strip naked and beaten unmercifully by the pigs. Larry was taken to the hospital and no one was allowed to see him. The butchers at the hospital refused to give out any information as to his condition. Larry, George, Randy and Bradford have been charged with conspiracy to commit murder and interfering with the duties of a "law officer". Their ransom has been set at \$50,000 each.

After the vamp on the Center, the pigs patrolled the Black Community for the rest of the day until 6:00 a.m. the next morning. As a result, three other community workers were arrested on disorderly conduct as the pigs continued their madness:

Dianne Mack, whose bond is \$500; Timothy Allen, bond \$500; and Larry Funderbird, bond \$500.

N.C.

N.C.

As the pigs rode through the community for the rest of the night into the early morning, they searched every black person that walked on the street. They searched every car driven by a black person. They looked under car hoods, inside the cars, and in trunks. They had their guns sticking out the windows of their vehicles, and were outfitted in supposedly bullet proof vests and other gear from head to toe.

It is appropriate, at this time, to charge those responsible for this vicious attack on the people. The guilty ones are Mendenhall-Moore realtor, racist slumlords; the Police Department of High Point (city); and fascist pig Judge Bryen Hayworth, to whom the house actually belonged.

As the fascist repression by the racist KU KLUX KLAN and their black bootlicking cohorts, disguised as police officers, increased in Winston-Salem and High Point, the people's resistance must also move to a higher level. We will intensify the struggle. We will continue to implement our survival programs, be-

cause that is the only way that we will survive through our service to the people.

"FOR THE SALVATION, LIBERATION, AND FREEDOM OF OUR PEOPLE WE WILL NOT HESITATE TO EITHER KILL OR DIE."

FREE BOBBY AND ERICA
FREE THE HIGH POINT 4

NOTE: BROTHERS RANDY JENNINGS, BRADFORD LILLY, GEORGE DEWITT AND LARRY MEDLEY, NOW HELD UNDER \$60,000.00 RANSOM EACH, WILL BE APPEARING IN COURT ON PRELIMINARY HEARING ON FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 26TH. ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

WINSTON-SALEM FASCISTS INVADE BLACK COMMUNITY AND ATTACK N.C.C.F.

On Tuesday, January 12, 1971, the Winston-Salem North Carolina N.C.C.F. was attacked by over 100 fascists. Prior to the attack a meat truck drove up and parked in front of the office. After the meat truck had been parked for a few minutes, the pigs attacked the office using the excuse that the N.C.C.F. members had robbed the truck. At that time one N.C.C.F. member, Grady Fuller, and a community member, Carry Coles were arrested.

Because the community had become enraged at the blatant pig attack on the people's office, the pigs went on a campaign to justify their actions. In an effort to smoke screen the real issues, the pigs said that everything that was confiscated from the office was stolen and that they found marijuana and heroin in the office. However, the people recognize that the alleged stolen meat and junkie narcotics are only a pig lie to justify the destruction of the people's office. Bail for Grady Fuller was set at \$7,000 and Carry Coles is being held captive in the Youth

Detection Center in Winston-Salem.

Again less than one week later on January 18, 1971, the Winston-Salem fascists invaded the Black community and the N.C.C.F. office. Without any pretext this time, the pigs came into the office and confiscated what few materials they had left the week before. Stating that the N.C.C.F. was evicted, the pigs also put all of the furniture outside and arrested N.C.C.F. member Julius Cornell.

Similar to the record attack on the office, Larry Little, N.C.C.F. coordinator, was being arrested at the Winston-Salem courthouse. He was charged with being an accessory to larceny of the meat truck. Bail for Julius Cornell and Larry Little was set at \$5,000 each.

The repression in Winston-Salem in constant and will continue until the masses of people of that community rise up and take the heads of their oppressors.

All Power to the People

ARMED BLACK STUDENTS DEFEND WILMINGTON CHURCH DURING THREE-DAY SIEGE

Wilmington, N.C. (LNS) — "What happened here was as close to an insurrection as anything I've ever seen," said one black observer. "About 1300 high school students became involved one way or another."

For three days in early February, armed black students defended Wilmington's Gregory Church which serves as a black community center, from attacks by marauding Klansmen and police. One black student and one Klansman died in the attacks.

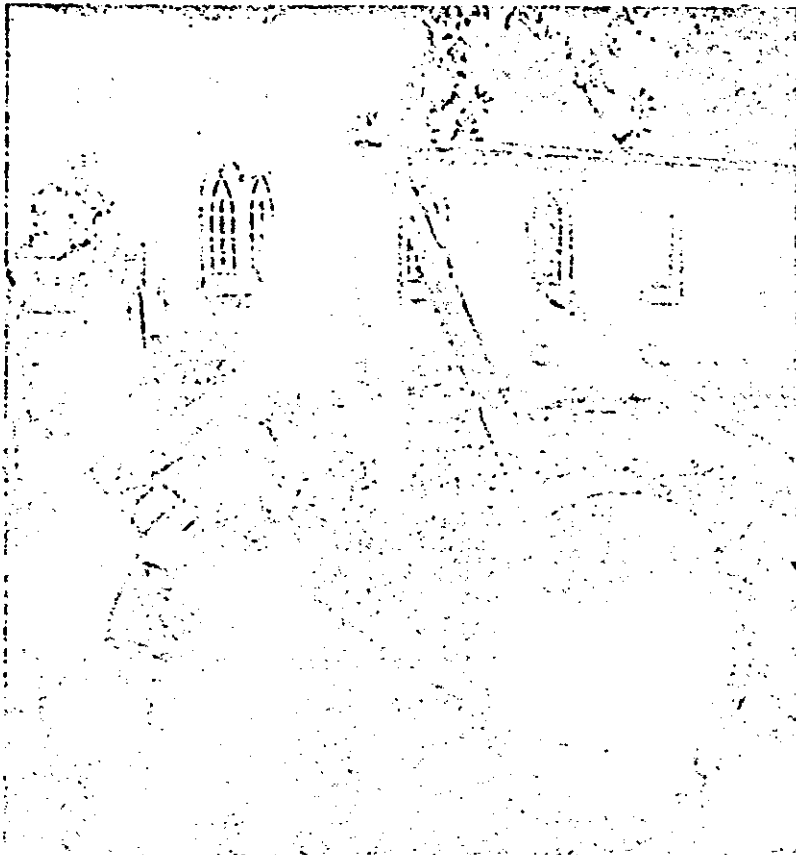
After four black public school students were suspended for alleged participation in racial disturbances, students got together and demanded black studies programs, greater black control over decision-making, and a holiday in honor of Martin Luther King from three Wilmington high schools. A boycott of classes was called when the city school administrators refused to negotiate the demands with the students.

On February 4, the second day of picketing, 2000 students and supporters marched in the city hall to once again present their demands, and found the offices padlocked.

When the marchers regrouped at Gregory Church, they found that bomb threats had preceded them to the church. Since Wilmington has long been a stronghold of Klan activity, the people in the church began to build barricades and arm themselves, fearing an armed attack.

That night, bands of prowling Klansmen converged on the church in cars and pick-up trucks loaded with weapons. They drove straight through the police lines set up a few blocks from the church. Some of the men jumped out of their trucks and began to shoot. The blacks inside returned shots, and fatally wounded one of the Klansmen.

Police claim that the dead man, Harvey Cumber, was just



*Pig's attack Gregory Congregational Church.
Wilmington, N.C.*

coming home from the store and was not part of the Klan offensive. But people in the church saw him hop out of his truck and point his gun at them.

"I guess he figured he could just walk into the area and start shooting. Maybe he could have twenty-five years ago," said one of the blacks who witnessed the incident.

The next day, when a fire believed to be set by arsonists broke out a block from the church, firemen at first refused to enter the area. They finally showed up one hour later. Some unarmed blacks from the church had come earlier to fight the fire. Police who showed up with the firemen, began shooting at the people near the fire. The police repeatedly shot Stephen Mitchell, a member of the stu-

dent steering committee, dragged him 50 feet to one of their squad cars, and beat him to death. The police claim they shot Mitchell in self-defense.

Six hundred National Guardsmen came in on February 7 and Wilmington "quieted down." Church trustees, who were under tremendous pressure from the city government, asked the students to leave. The students returned to their homes in the community. Eugene Tompkins, the white minister of Gregory Church was fired for supporting the students. The next night, a detachment of 50 National Guardsmen and local police charged the church with rifles and machine guns mounted on tanks. But only the janitor was there to meet them.

17-YEAR-OLD BROTHER'S HEAD BLOWN OFF BY KU KLUX KLAN

As the students in Wilmington, North Carolina came and to organize for the purpose of obtaining "freedom and justice." For all, after the KKK murdered a Black student and the federal pigs fired on the Gregory Congregational Church last month, February, the fascist regime (which is responsible for the mayor and his running-dogs) could not withstand the strong united power of the Black students and the people of the community. Seeing that the previous death of a Black student did not awaken the strong brothers and sisters, the pigs began to intimidate the persons related to speak for the Black community.

Saturday night, March 13th, the progressive Black people of Wilmington, N.C. were meeting in the apartment of Sister Mildred. This sister had been threatened time and time again for what she stood for--FREEDOM AND PEACE. Her apartment was "supposedly" under 24-hour surveillance for protection by the pigs, when a knock was made at the door. Seventeen year old Clifton Eugene Wright opened the door and a shotgun blast met his face. There was about a 2 second lull between the blast and the people reaching

the body of a potential revolutionary. The people reported seeing a white man running away from the murder. In spite of the people's reports, the pigs investigated and there were no clues, nor any witnesses. If there had been any people to witness this racist or fascist act, the pigs should have, since the house was under 24 hour surveillance.

Clifton Eugene Wright is dying for the rights and freedom of people. He is one of the many martyrs for death scheduled by the FBI LOWER STRUCTURE. He was a revolutionary, because he wanted a complete change to come about, by any means necessary.

The oppressed people of Wilmington and the oppressed people of the world must unite with the ideology of Revolutionary Intercommunalism as their weapon. The murders of the people of the world must cease or the pigs will "Free the world of an ARMED PEOPLE".

All Power To The People

N.C.C.T.

Winston-Salem

North Carolina

CE 157-6171

V. EVIDENCE OF NATIONAL UNITY

On November 13, 1970, SF T-16 reported receipt of information from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, that the group did not get papers the past week, although they sent in \$100. The group desired 3000 papers at a later date.

On November 17, 1970, SF T-16 reported that [REDACTED] from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, was inquiring about Black Panther Party newspapers and the financial situation concerning the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention.

On [REDACTED] reported that JAMES FORD was back in Winston-Salem from Augusta, Georgia, and reported that at Augusta the police have been putting Black Panther newspaper salesmen in jail. [REDACTED] also reported that RICKY HOSPER is the Finance Chairman and has been calling National Headquarters in Oakland once a week to tell them about the money situation.

On November 25, 1970, SF T-22 reported that [REDACTED] of Winston-Salem) was in New York and indicated they had received 1800 newspapers the previous week but had not been able to sell them, so they desired 1000 of the current issue. SF T-22 also indicated that [REDACTED] from North Carolina had gone to Atlanta, Georgia, to check out [REDACTED] and report on his findings.

On November 25, 1970, SF T-23 reported that five boxes of the Black Panther newspaper were shipped to Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

On November 27, 1970, SF T-18 reported that information had been received from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, that they had received 1048 papers.

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b) (7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

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105-165706-8-502 page 171

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On December 1, 1970, SF T-16 reported that the Black Panther Party members from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, had furnished an article to the National Headquarters about the burning of the Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism headquarters.

On December 3, 1970, SF T-22 reported seven boxes of newspapers were shipped to Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

On December 3, 1970, SF T-22 reported that the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, group owed back paper bills to National Headquarters.

On December 4, 1970, SF T-22 reported information that [REDACTED] from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, is to go to Atlanta, Georgia, to look over the operation and see if the group is ready to start distribution of the Black Panther Party newspaper.

On [REDACTED] reported that JAMES FORD desires to return to the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, area; however, because of the armed robbery charges out for him in South Carolina, he has to stay away. GARY and BRADFORD LILLY had been out selling the Black Panther Party newspaper that day.

D.C. ~~BRADFORD LILLY~~ BRADFORD LILLY
According to [REDACTED] JULIUS CORNELL from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, also known as "COON", travels about the country and receives his orders from an individual at Washington, D. C., known only as "BIG MAN".

On [REDACTED] reported that on [REDACTED] a group of the Panthers sold the newspaper in downtown Winston-Salem. During the day, [REDACTED] out of the headquarters and some of these were to pick up newspapers to sell.

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

3 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

105-165706-8-502 pages 173-175

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On December 15, 1970, SF T-22 reported [redacted] was upset because their newspapers had arrived late from National Headquarters.

On December 16, 1970, SF T-22 reported that this was believed to mean that the papers had arrived on Sunday instead of Thursday as usual.

On [redacted] reported that a member of the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, group had went to the Winston-Salem airport to see if their papers had arrived, but they were not at the airport. According to [redacted], they are apparently obtaining money from selling the newspapers and donations.

On [redacted] reported that the Black Panther Party group at Lumberton, North Carolina, is inactive and will remain inactive until their court convictions concerning the shooting up and disruption of an urban renewal meeting in Lumberton are appealed. The Black Panther Party newspaper is not being sold and one of the members advised that although he still believes in the Black Panther Party program, the National Party was not interested in the Lumberton, North Carolina, group.

On December 28, 1970, SF T-10 reported receipt of information that 800 newspapers had been shipped by bus to the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, group.

On January 21, 1971, SF T-16 reported that although the Winston-Salem BPP group had sent in no money, they were to receive 2,000 Black Panther Party newspapers free.

On January 21, 1971, SF T-16 reported that [REDACTED] of New York was to go to Winston-Salem, North Carolina, to assist the brothers recently arrested in getting out of jail.

On January 26, 1971, SF T-22 reported that the group at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, had ordered 3,000 Black Panther Party newspapers for which they were sending money.

In addition, on January 26, 1971, SF T-22 reported that the group at Winston-Salem had sold 1,550 papers for which they were sending in \$187.50; however, they desired an additional 2,500 papers, however, on January 27, 1971, SF T-22 reported the group at Winston-Salem were unable to pay for their 2,500 papers but would possibly receive them anyway.

On January 28, 1971, SF T-22 reported that an unknown quantity of newspapers packed in eight boxes had been shipped to Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

On January 29, 1971, SF T-22 reported that [REDACTED] was upset over the cost of shipping his 2,500 papers with the cost being approximately \$120.

On February 9, 1971, SF T-22 reported that the group at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, was to receive 2800 Black Panther Party newspapers.

On February 23, 1971, SF T-22 reported that the group at Winston-Salem were sending in \$300 and ordered 3,000 more papers.

On February 24, 1971, SF T-16 reported that the Winston-Salem group had sent \$260 to Black Panther Party Headquarters in payment for newspapers.

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

2 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(7)(C); (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

105-165706-8-502 pages 178-197
(including 180a)

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

CE 157-6171

On April 8, 1971, SF T-16 reported that the Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism was elevated to the status of the Black Panther Party Chapter on orders of [REDACTED] and everyone now functioning [REDACTED] in Winston-Salem is considered a Black Panther Party member.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP),
also known as
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to the official newspaper of the BPP, the BPP was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY G. SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NORTON, Minister of Defense, BPP.

The official newspaper, called "The Black Panther," regularly states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to as "pigs" who should be killed.

The newspaper, in its issue of September 7, 1968, had an article by the then Minister of Education, GEORGE MURRAY. This article ended with the following:

"Black men, Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

The BPP newspaper, issue of October 5, 1968, had an article introduced with the following statement: "We will not dissent from American government. We will overthrow it."

DAVID HILBERT, Chief of Staff, BPP, in a speech at the San Francisco Polo Field on November 15, 1969, said "We will kill Richard Nixon."

DAVID HILBERT, in the "New York Times," issue of November 13, 1969, was quoted as follows: "We advocate the very direct overthrow of the government by way of force and violence."

In the issue of April 25, 1970, the BPP newspaper had an article by Minister of Culture KIMMY BOGGS as follows:

"The only way to save this racist US government administer justice to the people it is oppressing, is . . . by taking up arms against this government, killing the officials, until the reactionary forces . . . are dead, and those that are left turn their weapons on their superiors, thereby passing revolutionary judgement against the number one enemy of all mankind, the racist U. S. government."

The BPP Headquarters is located at 1046 Pinella Street, Oakland, California. Branches of the BPP, and Committees to Combat Fascism, under control of the BPP, have been established in various locations in the USA.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

A source has advised that the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as presently regarded, came into being at a founding convention held June, 1962, at Port Huron, Michigan. From an initial posture of "participatory democracy" the line of the national leadership has revealed a growing Marxist-Leninist adherence which currently calls for the building of a revolutionary youth movement. Concurrently, the program of SDS has evolved from civil rights struggles to an anti-Vietnam war stance to an advocacy of a militant anti-imperialist position. China, Vietnam, and Cuba are regarded as the leaders of world-wide struggles against United States imperialism whereas the Soviet Union is held to be revisionist and also imperialist.

At the June, 1969, SDS National Convention, Progressive Labor Party (PLP) forces in the organization were expelled. As a result, the National Office (NO) group maintained its National Headquarters at 1809 West Madison Street, Chicago, and the PLP faction set up headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts. This headquarters subsequently moved to Boston. Each group elected its own national officers, which include three national secretaries and a National Internal Committee of eight. Both groups also print their versions of "The Left Notes" which sets forth the line and the program of the particular faction. The NO version of "The Left Notes" was recently printed under the title "The First Revolutionary Step" to achieve a broader mass appeal.

Two major factions have developed internally within the NO group, namely, the Weathermen or Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) I faction and the RYM II faction. Weathermen is action-oriented and upholding Castro's position that the duty of revolutionaries, above all else, is to fight a faction which denies the historical role of the working class as the base for revolution. RYM II maintains that revolution, although desired, is not possible under present conditions, hence emphasizes organizing and winning the political consciousness of the working class upon whom they feel successful revolutionary demands. Although circulating control and domination by the Communist Party, USA, leaders in these two factions have in the past proclaimed themselves to be communists and to follow the precepts of a Marxist-Leninist philosophy, along pro-Chinese communist lines.

A second source has advised that the PLP faction which is more commonly known as the Worker Student Alliance is dominated and controlled by members of the PLP, who are regarded to identify control of the BPP, have been established in various locations in the USA.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (CONTINUED)

SDS regions and university and college chapters, although operating under the outlines of the SDS National Constitution, are autonomous in nature and free to carry out independent policy reflective of local conditions. Because of this autonomy internal struggles reflecting the major factional interests of SDS have occurred at the chapter level since the beginning of the 1969-70 school year.

A characterization of PLP is attached.

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA CHAPTER

The "Daily Tar Heel," student newspaper published at the University of North Carolina (UNC), Chapel Hill, North Carolina, on November 7, 1968, published an article stating that the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) would hold its first organizational meeting on November 7, 1968, at the University of North Carolina.

On February 20, 1969, a source advised the Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee meeting on February 4, 1969, at New York City, approved the creation of a local Young Socialist Alliance at Chapel Hill, North Carolina.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina

April 21, 1971

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Character

RACIAL MATTERS; SMITH ACT OF 1940;
SEDITIONOUS CONSPIRACY; REBELLION
AND INSURRECTION

Reference

Charlotte report of SA [REDACTED].
[REDACTED] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

CE T-31 and CE T-33 have furnished insufficient information from which to judge reliability.

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8

DATE: 4-29-71

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE
RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-16).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) National Headquarters, 1046 Peralta Street, Oakland, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Oakland, California, with chapters located throughout the U.S.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

#3 7:05pm dlc Ic

APR 26 1971

[REDACTED] wanting [REDACTED] to call him at 919-[REDACTED]

#2 7:44a dac ic [REDACTED]

APR 26 1971

UNWOMAN in Winston Salem to [REDACTED] for [REDACTED] who is not in. UNWOMAN leaves message that [REDACTED] call [REDACTED] AT HIS HOME NUMBER OF [REDACTED]

REC-46

105-165706-8-501

- 2 - BUREAU RM
- 2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171) RM
- 3 - SF

7 MAY 4 1971



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

54 MAY 11 1971

RECEIVED
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAY 27 1971
TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	CD
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR001 CE CODE
200 AM NITEL 4-27-71 CEM

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165706 SUB 8)
ATTENTION: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE
FROM: CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, CHARLOTTE DIVISION. RM.

CONVAS OF SOURCES FAMILIAR WITH BPP AFFAIRS WINSTON-SALEM,
N.C. [REDACTED]

DETERMINED NO SOUTHERN REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLES SOLIDARITY
CONVENTION WAS HELD FOUR TWENTYTHREE DASH TWENTYFIVE SEVENTYONE.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE DIRECTOR AIRTEL TO CHARLOTTE THREE SEVENTEEN, SEVENTYONE.

CHARLOTTE WILL FOLLOW AND REPORT PERTIENT DEVELOPMENTS.

END.
TRC FBI WDC

REC 83

105-165706-8-500

5 MAY 11 1971

9 MAY 4 1971

F B I

Date: 4/27/71

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706) (Sub 8)
FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
FINANCES
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau 3/22/71.

During 3/71, the Winston-Salem Black Panther Party chapter had no place of operation until 3/19/71, at which time they rented a house at 5014 Page St., Winston-Salem, N. C., [REDACTED]

A. Sources of Income

During 3/71, the group ordered or received an estimated 10,000 copies of the Black Panther Party newspaper, sales of which were under the direction of EDWARD MC QUEEN and RICKY HOOPER. This appears to be the major source of income. No large donations were noted and their bank account was not active.

B. Foreign Sources

None reported.

C. Expenses

Twelve and one-half cents per copy for each newspaper sold for a total of \$1250 to be remitted to California. In addition, an estimated \$20 per week collect freight charges for

2-Bureau (RM)
1-San Francisco (157-1485) (RM)
2-Charlotte

THG:jeb
(5)

ST 101

REC-46

105-165706-8-499

12 APR 28 1971

53 MAY 11 1971

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

RACIAL INT. SECT.

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

each shipment of newspapers and [REDACTED] were incurred.

D. Operations

JULIUS WHITE CORNELL, JR. and LARRY DONNELL LITTLE continue as overall leaders with HAZEL MACK and DELORES WRIGHT handling finances.

E. Miscellaneous

Income

Newspaper sales (approximation)	\$2500.00
---------------------------------	-----------

Expenses

Newspapers	1250.00
------------	---------

Freight on Papers	<u>80.00</u>
-------------------	--------------

TOTAL . . .	\$1352.50
-------------	-----------

No estimate could be made of unsold newspapers or personal expenses of members. They are reported to be obtaining a telephone at 5014 Page Street, and [REDACTED]

Informants continue to report group is in dire financial need.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date: 4/28/71

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
UNDERGROUND ACTIVITIES
 RM

Re Charlotte airtel to the Bureau, 4/9/71.

Since referenced airtel no underground ~~cells~~ or members have been identified or interviewed and no information has been obtained that funds are being furnished any underground group from North Carolina. There have been no reported thefts of weapons or explosives for use of underground or secret organizations and no recent acts of violence on police which appeared to have been perpetrated by Black Extremists Underground Operatives.

All five of the purged individuals at Winston-Salem, N. C., have all been located. It being noted that JESSIE LEE STIPP is currently within the New Haven Division where he is reportedly gainfully employed

The local group at Winston-Salem has been elevated to the status of a BPP chapter, however, they currently do not appear to have the capability of supporting an underground operation locally.

BPP members, that their financial status is such they are

- (2) - Bureau (105-165706) (RM) 27 105-165706 -8 - 498
- 1 - San Francisco (RM)
- 2 - Charlotte (157-6171)

THG:nfs

(5)

-cc-808

25 MAY 1 1971

RACIAL INT. SECT.

57 MAY 11 1971

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

considering Armed Robberies, to raise funds; it being noted the majority of the current leadership has been charged on local charges at Winston-Salem, N. C.

Charlotte will continue to follow and report pertinent developments.

2

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FBI

Date: 4/29/71

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

RM - BPP

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of LHM regarding captioned matter, copy of which is being disseminated locally to Secret Service.

All investigation in this matter was conducted by [REDACTED] with the exception of credit and criminal checks at High Point, N. C., which were by SA [REDACTED]

Noting that subject is a senior at [REDACTED], she was not interviewed.

Sources familiar with BPP activity have failed to report subject as actually being a member of the group at High Point, N. C., which is now almost defunct following their shoot out with the High Point PD.

This case does not appear to fit the criteria for inclusion in the security or agitator index. In the event additional information is obtained concerning subject, consideration will be given at that time to reopen the case and conducting official investigation as necessary.

- 2 - Bureau (Encs. 8) *THG*
1 - Charlotte (157-7947)

THG:nfs
(3)

ENCLOSURE

EX-112

MAY 3

[REDACTED] *BLACK INT. SEC.*57 MAY 17 1971 *F466*

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

Charlotte, North Carolina
April 29, 1971

[REDACTED] also known as

RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

[REDACTED]

A sealed first-class letter was turned over by the Postal Inspectors to Secret Service. This letter postmarked High Point, North Carolina on July 16, 1970, was from Little Sister [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] to Black Sister [REDACTED] General Delivery, Liberty, North Carolina, 27258. On the outside of the back of the envelope was written the following "Death to the fascist pigs!", "When HUEY gets out- - -", "Free all political prisoners!", "All power to the people!", "Free BOBBY!", "Kill RICHARD NIXON!".

[REDACTED] was interviewed by Special Agent of the Secret Service at which time she admitted statements written by her and in addition, in the letter contained within the envelope, she had written "Kill Mealy-mouth NIXON". She denied intentional threatening of the President or attempting to harm him or attempting to incite anyone else to attempt to harm the President. She indicated statements were frequently used verbally in conversation among Black Panther members and their followers.

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS
NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY
OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND
ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE
YOUR AGENCY.

105-165706-8-447

ENCLOSURE

On October 9, 1970, [REDACTED] made available a copy of a letter concerning Black Panther Party from [REDACTED] to [REDACTED] another student at [REDACTED]. This letter contains Panther slogans and in addition, contains the statement "This is not very good because Panthers believe you should go to school not to learn but to teach and explain blackness and to expose the school for what it is. In this way, BLACK'S through you will get an education that teaches them their true role in this present day society." "All power to the people." "Death to the pigs."

On November 19, 1970, [REDACTED] reported that [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] two Negro males, were arrested by the Police Department for trespassing at Central High School. In possession of [REDACTED] was an eight-page letter from [REDACTED] to [REDACTED]. This letter requested [REDACTED] to teach her of the Black Panther Party. The letter contains Panther slogans and obscenities and includes the statement "Too many times there have been justifiable homicide. This is why Bro. [REDACTED] these damn fascist pigs must withdraw from our Black Communities or face the wrath of the Armed People."

[REDACTED]

It is noted that on February 10, 1971, [REDACTED] reported that GEORGE DEWITT and LARRY MEDLEY were two of four Black Panther Party members arrested after a shoot-out with Officers of the High Point Police Department

and Guilford County Sheriff's Office during lawful eviction proceedings against the Black Panther Party at their High Point Headquarters, 612 Hulda Street.

Attached hereto as an appendix of this memorandum is a characterization of the Black Panther Party.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), also known as
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to the official newspaper of the BPP, the BPP was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY G. SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense, BPP.

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The newspaper, in its issue of September 7, 1968, had an article by the then Minister of Education, GEORGE MURRAY. This article ended with the following:

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DAVID HILLIARD, Chief of Staff, BPP, in a speech at the San Francisco Polo Field on November 15, 1969, said "We will kill Richard Nixon."

DAVID HILLIARD, in the "New York Times," issue of December 13, 1969, was quoted as follows: "We advocate the very direct overthrow of the government by way of force and violence."

In the issue of April 25, 1970, the BPP newspaper had an article by the Minister of Culture EMORY DOUGLAS as follows:

"The only way to make this racist U.S. government administer justice to the people it is oppressing, is . . . by taking up arms against this government, killing the officials, until the reactionary forces . . . are dead, and those that are left turn their weapons on their superiors, thereby passing revolutionary judgement against the number one enemy of all mankind, the racist U. S. government."

The BPP Headquarters is located at 1046 Peralta Street, Oakland, California. Branches of the BPP, and Committees to Combat Fascism, under control of the BPP, have been established in various locations in the USA.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8

DATE: 4-26-71

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE
RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-16).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) National Headquarters, 1046 Peralta Street, Oakland, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Oakland, California, with chapters located throughout the U.S.

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[REDACTED]

REC-35

105-165706-8-496

22 MAY 3 1971

- 2 - BUREAU RM
- 2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171) RM
- 2 - NEW YORK (100-161993) RM
- 4 - SF

[REDACTED]
RACIAL INT. SECT.

- 1 - BLACK PANTHER PARTY - FILMS AND PUBLICATIONS (157-1531)
- 1 - BLACK PANTHER PARTY - FUNDS (157-1485)

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



ENCLOSURE

2 MAY 14 1971

#2 9:30AM NBN IC [REDACTED]

MAR 25 1971

[REDACTED] to [REDACTED]. He is in Winston Salem. Wants JUNE to authorize papers for him even though he didnt send any money. JUNE isnt there, but [REDACTED] will call him and tell him about it. Some one will call him back.

#1 3:16PM NBN IC [REDACTED]

APR 6 1971

[REDACTED] To [REDACTED] is calling from Winston Salem, NC and wants order papers. [REDACTED] asked her how much money she has and HAZEL told her she was sending \$175.00 tonite. [REDACTED] ordered 2,000 papers this week.

#3 6:31pm jpr to [REDACTED]

APR 7 1971

TO [REDACTED]

We are considering forming a Southern Revolutionary Solidarity Committee. [REDACTED] draw it up and send it on in to the Chief and the minister for consideration. [REDACTED] we think that we can mobilize it by last of May or some time in June. [REDACTED] some things are happening back in New Haven & WashingtonDC at that time & so the last of June would be better. [REDACTED] STOKELY CARMICHAEL and [REDACTED] have been [REDACTED]

APR 7 1971

to send this weeks paper to everyone even if they haven't paid their bill but it does not deal with ELDRIDGE. [REDACTED] change your sign to read the Winston Salem Branch of the BPP and everybody taht is functioning with you regularly is now a party member. [REDACTED] (with obvious pleasure states : so Winston is a Chapter now).

ENCLOSURE

FBI

Date: 4/24/71

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub 8)
FROM *DWH/* SAC, RICHMOND (157-3236) - RUC -
SUBJECT: SOUTHERN REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLES SOLIDARITY CONVENTION
APRIL 23-24-25, 1971
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Bureau airtel to Charlotte, ET AL, 3/17/71.

For information of Charlotte, the BPP affiliated Richmond Information Center (RIC), Richmond, Va., was disbanded on 3/16/71.

Continuing contacts with [REDACTED], during March and April, 1971 have failed to develop any information whatever concerning captioned matter.

Should positive information be developed, the Bureau and interested offices will be immediately advised.

Registered Mail

2 - Bureau
2 - Charlotte (157-6171) Registered Mail
1 - Richmond
TJO/lsw
(5)

EST-102

REC-34 105-165706-8-495

9 APR 27 1971

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

7 OMAX 41971 Special Agent in Charge

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION **FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET**

 1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(1); (b)(2); (b)(7)(C); (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

 Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

 Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

105-165706-8-494

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 X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
 X FOR THIS PAGE X
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 14 1971

De
TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Sullivan	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Mohr	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Bishop	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Brennan	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Callahan	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Casper	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Conrad	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Felt	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Gale	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Rosen	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Tavel	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Walters	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Soyars	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Miss Holmes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Miss Gandy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

NR003 CE C O D E

412PM URGENT 4-14-71 DRA

TO: DIRECTOR 105-165706 SUB 8 (URGENT) ATT: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE

SAN FRANCISCO 157-1204 (URGENT)

COLUMBIA 157-4975 (NITEL)

ATLANTA (NITEL)

MEMPHIS (NITEL)

J
NEW ORLEANS 105-2950 (NITEL)

SAVANNAH 157-1365 (NITEL)

RICHMOND 105-5504 (NITEL)

NEW YORK 100-161993 (NITEL)

WFO (NITEL)

FROM: CHARLOTTE 157-6171 3P P

0 BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), FINANCES, CHARLOTTE DIVISION,
RM. Racial Matter

EX-114

REC 18

105-165706-8-493

ON

WITH WHOM THERE

HAS BEEN INSUFFICIENT CONTACT FROM WHICH TO JUDGE RELIABILITY

BUT WHO IS IN A POSITION TO FURNISH RELIABLE INFORMATION

REPORTED THAT

END PAGE ONE

De
ORIGINAL 3/1/71

"cc to IDIU - 150
Adm. data deleted" 7-201
57 APR 26 1971

CE 157-6171

PAGE TWO

OTHER MEMBERS OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CHAPTER AT WINSTON-SALEM, NC, IT WAS DETERMINED THAT THE GROUP IS CONSIDERING COMMITTING ARMED ROBBERIES TO RAISE MONEY DUE TO THEIR FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES. DURING THE CONVERSATION, THE POSSIBILITY OF BRINGING IN OUTSIDE BLACK PANTHER PARTY MEMBERS TO COMMIT THESE ROBBERIES DISCUSSED NOTING MAJOR PORTION OF THE LOCAL BLACK PANTHER PARTY MEMBERS ARE WELL KNOWN TO LAW ENFORCEMENT.

SOURCE STRESSED THAT NO ACTUAL TARGET HAS BEEN POINTED OUT, HOWEVER, THIS IS GENERAL DISCUSSION AMONG THE MEMBERS AND IN THE EVENT THEIR FINANCIAL SITUATION BECOMES MORE DESPERATE, THE POSSIBILITY EXISTS THAT THE GROUP WILL PLAN FURTHER IN THIS REGARD.

Police Department

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE WINSTON-SALEM, NC, PD AND SECRET SERVICE HAVE BEEN FURNISHED THE ABOVE INFORMATION.

ADMINISTRATIVE



CE 157-6171

PAGE THREE

[REDACTED]

ALL RECEIVING OFFICES BE ALERT FOR INFORMATION CONCERNING POSSIBLE TRAVEL OF BLACK PANTHER PARTY MEMBERS OF SYMPATHIZERS TO WINSTON-SALEM, NC. IMMEDIATELY FURNISH DESCRIPTIVE DATA AND PHOTOGRAPHS IF AVAILABLE IN ORDER THAT THE INFORMATION MAY BE FURNISHED TO WINSTON-SALEM, NC, PD OR OTHER APPROPRIATE LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES.

CHARLOTTE FOLLOWING CLOSELY.

AIRMAIL COPIES BEING FURNISHED TO NORFOLK, KNOXVILLE, CHICAGO, PHILADELPHIA, CINCINNATI.

END

GMV WASH DC FBI TU CUL

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 4-14-71

Attached relates members of the Black Panther Party (BPP) Chapter in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, are considering committing armed robberies in order to raise money due to their financial difficulties. No actual target has been pointed out, but this possibility is being discussed among the members.

Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Police Department has been advised. Copies sent Inter-Division Information Unit and Internal Security Division of the Department.

ABK:lrs

h/k
GC 4/15/71

F B I

Date: 4/5/71

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706) (SUB 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY-(BPP)
NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM (NCCF)
WINSTON SALEM, N. C.
CHARLOTTE DIVISION MONTHLY SUMMARY
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau, 3/8/71.

PART I

The following information was obtained or confirmed
by [REDACTED]

Organization and Status

National Committee to Combat Fascism
Winston Salem, North Carolina

At the current time there is no headquarters group as such. They were evicted from 1372A Underwood St. and a house was rented at 5014 Page St., however, has been used only as a pad. Members also reside at 1326 Oak St., the residence of LARRY DONNELL LITTLE, and apparently the main telephone

2-Bureau (RM)
2-San Francisco (157-2861) (RM)
2-Charlotte
THG:gjc
(6)

REC-81

105-165706-8-492

7 APR 9 1971

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

is located at this address, it being telephone number 919-725-7026. The organization's efforts at High Point, N. C., is only the function of continuing their breakfast program at 305 Loflin St., however, this is the only reported activity.

Membership

<u>Assigned</u>	<u>In Jail</u>	<u>Temporarily Assigned Elsewhere</u>	<u>Total Active Charlotte Division</u>
20	4	0	<u>20</u>

Leadership

JULIUS WHITE CORNELL, JR., Captain of Defense.

LARRY DONNELL LITTLE, Field Lieutenant.

HAZEL MAE MACK, Communications Secretary

DELORIS WRIGHT, Secretary

BPP Pads

1326 Oak Street, Winston Salem, N. C.

5014 Page Street, Winston Salem, N. C.

Public Appearances of BPP Members
Within the Charlotte Division

On 3/7/71, Revolutionary Day of Solidarity was held at Winston Salem, N. C.

-2-

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

Arrests and Convictions

<u>Date</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Charge</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
3/8/71	LARRY DONNELL LITTLE	Winston Salem, N. C.	Carrying Concealed Weapon (pistol)	Convicted; appealed to Superior Court; out on bond
3/8/71	LARRY DONNELL LITTLE	Winston Salem, N. C.	Contempt of Court	Out on bond

Acquisition of Weapons

_____, advised on _____ had never seen any automatic ~~hand~~ weapons, hand grenades, or dynamite in the possession of Winston Salem, N. C., NCCF members and to the best of _____ knowledge the group's arsenal consisted of eight to twelve shotguns location unknown to _____ at this time.

Factionalism

RUSSELL EDWARD MC DONALD representing the Winston Salem NCCF in California during the first week in March reportedly was given the "True Word" concerning ELDRIDGE CLEAVER in his attempts to rule the BPP. The entire group appears loyal to NEWTON faction of BPP.

PART II

The following is a Summary of BPP activities in the Charlotte Division:

The Winston Salem NCCF continues to receive and sale the BPP newspaper, at Winston Salem and High Point, N. C.,

-3-

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
CE 157-6171 (Priority)

and continues to be in financial difficulty. They have been unable to develop a central headquarters at either city, which has curtailed the organization's activities. Most of the top leaders are to be tried later on previous arrests, and this has created difficulties, both financially and through lack of leadership.

-4-

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FBI

Date: 4/13/71

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau, 3/23/71.

Enclosed for the Bureau are two copies and for San Francisco one copy of an answer and exhibit by the Winston-Salem, N. C., Police Department to the previous complaint and motion for preliminary injunction and permanent injunction filed by the Winston-Salem Chapter of the National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF), HAZEL MACK, LARRY LITTLE, and DELORES WRIGHT, plaintiffs.

The enclosed answer and exhibit was filed on 4/8/71.

Charlotte will follow and report pertinent developments.

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)
1 - San Francisco (Encl. 1) (RM)
5 - Charlotte
(2 - 157-6171)

EX-103

REC-76

105-165706-8-491

THG:stp
(8)

APR 15 1971

4 APR 27 1971

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

_____ Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☐ Deleted under exemption(s) _____ with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

☒ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):
Covert documents exempt from disclosure

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

105-165706-8-491 enclosure

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8

DATE: 4-13-71

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE
RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-16).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) National Headquarters, 1046 Peralta Street, Oakland, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Oakland, California, with chapters located throughout the U.S.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

#2 8:13am rb ic

[REDACTED], Winston-Salem, to [REDACTED] giving him three new telephone number and post office box: 919-767-7505 and PO Box 2019.

(REC-79)

105-165706-8-490

12 APR 19 1971

2 - BUREAU RM
2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171) RM
2 - SF
[REDACTED]

58 APR 22 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

f179



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8

DATE: 4-13-71

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE
RM

See Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-16).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) National Headquarters, 1046 Peralta Street, Oakland, California.

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#2 3:17 pm jhm ic [REDACTED]

MAR 26 1971

UNWOMAN to UNMAN advising the Winston-Salem office had a new telephone number that she wanted to report to Central. UNWOMAN gave the new number as: (919) 767-7505. Okay.

EX 101
REC-7A

105-165706-8-489

12 APR 19 1971

RACIAL INT. SECT

58 APR 22 1971

f179

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8

DATE: 4-6-71

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE
RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-16).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) National Headquarters, 1046 Peralta Street, Oakland, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Oakland, California, with chapters located throughout the U.S.

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MAR 18 1971

#2 3:45p rb lc

[REDACTED], Winston-Salem, to UNMAN ASKING FOR JUNE who wasn't there. She said to tell him LARRY is out. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] he got out on a \$1500 bond.

EX 101

REC-34 105-165706-8-488

20 APR 15 1971

- 2 - BUREAU RM
- 2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171) RM
- 1 - SF

F. 201

51 APR 20 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RACIAL INT. SECT.



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 29 1971 *RAV*

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	CD
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR002 CE PLAIN

420PM URGENT 3-29-71 DRA

TO: DIRECTOR (URGENT) 105-165706-SUB 8 ATT: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE

NEW YORK (IMMEDIATE)

NEW HAVEN (NITEL)

FROM: CHARLOTTE 157-6171 2P P

Racial Matter-Black Panther Party
BLACK PANTHER PARTY; RM- BPP.

INFORMATION RECEIVED TODAY FROM [REDACTED]

WHO ADVISED THAT [REDACTED]

AKA [REDACTED]

NEGRO MALE,

BORN [REDACTED]

DEPARTED FAYETTEVILLE, NC, TODAY IN [REDACTED]

WHO LIVES IN [REDACTED] NC, NEAR THE RESIDENCE OF [REDACTED]

INDICATION [REDACTED]

THAT [REDACTED] IS MEMBER OF BPP.

[REDACTED] REPORTEDLY HAS THIRTY-FIVE TO FORTY PISTOLS, RIFLES
AND SHOTGUNS AND FIVE AUTOMATIC CARBINES WITH CLIPS AND AMMUNITION,

SERIAL NUMBERS NOT KNOWN, BUT MANY REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN STOLEN

PAGE ONE

cc to IDIU / 1SD
Adm. data deleted"

APR 15 1971

406

CE157-6171

PAGE TWO

FROM HOUSE BREAK-INS IN THE FAYETTEVILLE AREA. [REDACTED] ADVISED

[REDACTED] HE WAS TAKING THE WEAPONS TO THE BPP,

BROOKLYN, NY. Police Department

NEW YORK ALERT PD AND SOURCES FAMILIAR WITH BLACK PANTHER
ACTIVITIES, ATTEMPT TO LOCATE [REDACTED] AND OBTAIN SERIAL NUMBERS
OF WEAPONS.

END

RSP FBI WASH DC

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 3-29-71

Attached relates [REDACTED], a Negro, left Fayetteville, North Carolina, on 3-29-71, [REDACTED] he was going to Brooklyn, New York, to deliver to the Black Panther Party a number of weapons including five automatic carbines with clips and ammunition.

Our New York Office is attempting to locate [REDACTED] and the weapons. Copy of attached sent Inter-Division Information Unit and Internal Security Division of the Department.

ABK:lrs

6/17/71

F B I

Date: 4/9/71

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)
FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P) *mc*
SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
UNDERGROUND ACTIVITIES
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau dated 3/23/71.

During the previous two weeks, no underground cells or members have been identified or interviewed; and there is no indication that funds are being submitted to any underground group from North Carolina. There have been no reported thefts of weapons or explosives for use of the underground or secret caches of weapons obtained. There were no recent acts of violence or unprovoked attacks on police which appear to have been perpetrated by black extremist underground operatives.

The five identified purged individuals at Winston-Salem have all been located with the exception of JESSE LEE STITT and investigation in this regard is currently pending at New Haven, Connecticut.

The other four have all been determined to be above ground in their operations and inactive in racial affairs. The local NCCF group currently appears to not have the capability of supporting an underground operation locally.

Charlotte will continue to follow pertinent developments.

- REC-40
EX-104
- ② - Bureau (RM)
1 - San Francisco (RM)
2 - Charlotte (157-6171)

THG:sjw

APR 19 1971

105-165706-486
8 APR 12 1971

APR

Sent _____ M

RACIAL INT/SECT

Agent in Charge